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**Young people's experience of  
a democratic deficit in  
citizenship education  
in formal and informal settings  
in Scotland**

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# Declaration

I declare that this thesis was composed by myself and that the work contained therein is my own, except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text.

Byulrim Pyollim Hong



# Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to all the young people and practitioners who participated in the fieldwork element of this research. Without their participation this project would never have taken place. I was continuously inspired by the knowledge and experiences they shared during the short period of time we spent together.

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## *Dedication*

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to my mother, Jooyeong Oh. Her continuous support, encouragement and unconditional love have sustained me throughout my life.

# Abstract

This thesis enquires into the kinds of citizenship taught and learned in formal and informal settings of citizenship education in Scotland. There has been a 'perceived' crisis in democratic citizenry in the UK and elsewhere across the world since the 1990s and this has brought about renewed interests in citizenship education whereby young people are a specifically targeted group. Yet, citizenship education is a fundamentally contested domain where conflicting and contrasting ideologies co-exist and the Scottish version of 'education for global citizenship' is an archetypal example of this. By exploring similarities and differences between accounts of 'what adult practitioners do' and 'what young people learn' in each setting, the thesis emphasises tensions and challenges of citizenship education and their implications for the wider debates about the complex relationship between citizenship, democracy and education.

The thesis deploys a synthesised theoretical framework for differentiating and analysing the types of education and learning that are legitimate points of reference in citizenship education for democratic life. It distinguishes between approaches to education for citizenship that focuses on *membership of the community* (relationships and service work in communities), *formal political participation* (political literacy in terms of institutions, processes and procedures) *entrepreneurial citizenship* (employability skills and economic participation) and *social and political activism* (the commitment and capacity to think critically and act collectively to realise the inherent goals of democracy). These different approaches entail a broad ideological mix of civic republicanism, liberalism and neoliberalism which informs citizenship education. The increasing emphasis on economic participation in educational contexts resonates with what can be termed as a neoliberal version of 'responsibilised citizenship' that promotes an individualised and depoliticised conception of citizenship by equipping young people with knowledge, skills and experiences to get on and get into the labour market through their own individual efforts rather than being concerned with the collective needs and interests of young people.

Formal education and, to some extent informal community education, tend to overlook the *de facto* issues, experiences and contributions of young people as engaged citizens and the need to focus on the commitment and capacity to think critically and act collectively in order to realise the inherent goals of democracy as an unfinished project. Consequently, the experience of citizenship education is one young people often feel marginal to or marginalised from. This thesis challenges the dominant assumption of 'disengaged youth' to focus instead on the democratic deficit at the heart of citizenship teaching and learning. Along with the 'invited' spaces of citizenship education, in both formal and informal settings, the goal of democracy should include the 'invented' spaces of citizenship learning which reflects the lived experience, concerns and aspirations of young people.

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# List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ASDAN	Award Scheme Development and Accreditation Network
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CfE	Curriculum for Excellence
CIVED	The IEA Civic Education Study
CLD	Community Learning and Development
CRELL	Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning
EfC	Education for Citizenship
EGC	Education for Global Citizenship
EiE	Enterprise in Education
EU	European Union
EURYDICE	Education Information Network in Europe
G20	Group of 20 (leaders of 19 countries plus the EU)
HMIE	Her Majesty Inspectorate of Education
HMSO	Her Majesty Stationary Office
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
LTS	Learning and Teaching Scotland
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
MSYP	Member of Scottish Youth Parliament
NEETs	Young people who are Not in Employment, Education and Training
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research

NGO	Non-governmental Organisations
RME	Religious and Moral Education
SERA	Scottish Educational Research Association
UK	United Kingdom
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund (formerly United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund)
USA	United States of America
WALT	Working and Teaching Together to Build Stronger Communities



## Chapter 1

# Introduction

### Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the kinds of citizenship taught and learnt in formal and informal settings of education for citizenship in Scotland. It explores the extent to which formal (school-based) and informal (community-based) education for citizenship involves complementary and contradictory practices, and the ways in which these different contexts of citizenship learning affect young people's understanding of citizenship, as well as their participation in politics and wider society. Through this, it aims to enrich our understanding of lived experiences of young people as *engaged citizens* in Scotland in the contemporary context.

## The citizenship problem

Young people's transition to adulthood is a unique process and essential to this process is the notion that young people are reflexive agents of their own voice and critical capacities. To put it differently, young people *are* capable of critical social engagement and political action that create further possibilities for a more democratic, equal, inclusive and socially just society. Therefore educational practices engaging in the delivery of democratic citizenship and active participation should acknowledge young people's role as *engaged citizens*. The problem is that often they do not. Whilst both empowerment and extension of rights for young people are crucial for this, deficit discourses often dominate citizenship education in school, domesticating and remoralising young people as uncritical, conformist or what Biesta would call 'ignorant' citizens (Biesta, 2011c), marginalised from the public sphere and with limited preparation to engage in a participatory democracy. Young people may learn to be governed in school but they are seldom taught the critical capacities for governing.

Unsurprisingly, citizenship education is a fundamentally *political* domain conceived out of contesting ideologies of what constitutes good citizenship and how it should be taught in different settings of citizenship education. Whilst formal education, or schooling, is regarded as being at the heart of young people's political socialisation and development of democratic citizenship, there has been a growing emphasis on community-based educational agencies as 'key partners' of formal education in recent years. This is a trend in the UK and beyond, which is documented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 examines more specifically the Scottish policy context.

One of the claims made for the distinctive nature of community education is its freedom from formal educational agendas and structures and its willingness to build programmes of learning from people's concerns and experiences. The slogan of 'starting where people are at', common in community education, attempts to capture the essence of this idea. The primary purpose of community education is that education should be

“relevant to the participating learners and is responsive to community priorities identified *with* people rather than *for* them” (Tett, 2010, p.1, original emphasis). However, this so-called ‘free’ space of community seems increasingly difficult to maintain, as it becomes an alternative site for more formal educational purposes and concerns. The recent policies and practice of the Scottish curriculum of Education for Global Citizenship show evidence of a creeping colonisation process, whereby the community is regarded as a crucial resource for delivering citizenship education, to provide *real-life contexts* where “learners are connected to and involved in establishing positive patterns of behaviour that will continue after school” (LTS, 2011, p.18).

Nevertheless, the partnership between school and community education is still new and has the potential to challenge conventional educational relationships (see Martin, 1987). Yet there is little empirical evidence to indicate what actually happens in reality, which, as many previous studies have demonstrated, may differ from the policy rhetoric. Despite the convergence evident in policy and official curricular terminology, it is considered that the distinctive nature of formal-school and informal-community settings, potentially create diverse conditions for young people’s citizenship learning and education and it was with this in mind that the following study was undertaken.

## **Academic and personal interests**

My academic interests derive from the emergence of the new, project-based, subterranean politics and youth activism. While undertaking my MSc dissertation, I conducted an in-depth study about Scottish citizenship education, *Education for Citizenship in Scotland*, and its connection with Scottish youth activism. While collecting and analysing the data, I found many interesting details about young people in Scotland and their stories of citizenship learning, in and outside of school, which often entailed two

conflicting views of youth; at official policy level they were predominantly described as apathetic, irresponsible or deferred citizens rather than being viewed as actively engaged or alter-activist citizens. It is perhaps because, as Pippa Norris (2003; 2007) argues, youth activism usually exists *outside* the conventional repertoires of politics and political institutions that it is often denigrated or ignored.

In the last decade alone, there have been many examples of young people in Scotland and across the globe being at the forefront of many new social movements, for instance the anti-militarist movement (against the Iraq and Afghanistan wars); global justice or anti-capitalist movements (against international economic groups/agencies such as G20, the World Trade Organisation and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development); and the environmental movement (for more ecologically sustainable developments, e.g. the 'Plane Stupid' campaign against airport expansion). I agree with James and McGillicuddy's (2001) view that youth participation is the next civil rights movement (cited in Kirshner, 2008, p.64). Yet, many official documents related to citizenship education fail to accommodate these versions of youth activism. Instead, what is evident is the dominant agenda of youth socialisation and re-moralisation. This perspective mainly revolves around a notion of 'good' and 'responsible' citizenship rather than 'critically autonomous' citizenship upon which political agency and empowerment are based, for young people's more direct and effective participation in democratic claim-making and in democracy itself.

I believe that investigating the similarities and differences between formal and informal settings of young people's citizenship learning may offer useful and reflective insights into each context, in terms of what young people are taught about citizenship and their experiences of citizenship learning. I hope that, in doing so, I will also further deepen my understanding of Scotland's democracy in the current context of a so-called 'globalised' society as well as young people's role in this, and how education may contribute to their development and practice of citizenship for democratic life.



In my study, young people are *not* considered as passive research subjects. Instead, they are active participants who have voices of their own, capable of making authentic choices and able to recount their unique experiences of citizenship learning and participation. I also view the development of autonomous and critical agency in young people as being at the heart of critical educators' responsibilities for building a better world. The research project was initially designed as a cross-cultural comparative study, to compare young people's overlapping and contradicting experiences of citizenship learning in Scotland and South Korea. Despite obvious differences in historical, intellectual, social, cultural, political and educational traditions between the two countries, their public discourses concerning citizenship education seem largely to overlap with each other. However, this turned out to be impossible due to limited availability of financial resources, a limited time frame and potential complications around the 'perceived' sensitivity of the research topic and youth activism in the South Korean political environment.

Whilst this resulted in a unexpected, drastic change in research direction during the second year of my PhD, from a cross-cultural to a cross-site comparative approach within Scotland, I still believe that the findings of this study have a unique significance in contributing useful information for future research in this area, and furthering an understanding of the lives of young people as critically engaged citizens of the present time.

Moreover, my interest in the contribution of dissent as vital to democratic life was confirmed by a recent incident in South Korea. On 23 August 2014, young people from various youth clubs and activist groups across the nation gathered at Gwanghwamun Square, Seoul, urging the South Korean government to take action on the currently deadlocked special bill to investigate the Sewol Ferry incident that took place in April, 2014. The ferry

capsized and eventually sank while carrying approximately<sup>1</sup> 476 passengers, including 325 high school students and their teachers, other civilian passengers and 33 crew members (BBC News Online, 2014a). In total, the incident claimed 300 lives or more; only 75 students survived. The crew members were one of the first groups of people rescued by the coastal guards, while students and other civilian passengers were instructed to stay put, as it was claimed that moving was dangerous for the vessel. The overwhelming majority of the students followed this instruction and remained in their cabins, whilst a small number of “naughty ones who disobeyed” run to the deck, jumped into the water and made it out of the Sewol alive (South China Morning Post, 2014).

The young people who survived this incident were those who had the capacity to disobey authority. It saved their lives. Without wishing to over-emphasise this, the point is that education for citizenship should involve the kind of critical education that enables young and older people to question authority where necessary and to take action if needed. The dissenting citizen, as well as the conformist citizen, is required in a democracy that can renew itself in changing circumstances.

## **Definition of young people**

It is difficult to define ‘youth’. In the life course, ‘youth’ or ‘adolescence’ is commonly understood as the passage from childhood to adulthood (Jones & Wallace, 1992), which encompasses “a related set of transitions in economic, inter-personal and political roles” (Fyfe, 2003, p.113). Youth, therefore, also

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<sup>1</sup> The exact number of passengers on board the Sewol is still unknown. On 18 April 2014, the government confirmed the number of 476 after several media misreports which varied from 350 to 500. This confusion about the number of passengers has been one of the most controversial issues regarding the Sewol incident in relation to the slow response of the rescue operations as well as public distrust towards the South Korean government and the major news corporations.

represents a time of transition “to rights and responsibilities of citizenship to adult citizenship” (ibid.)

Whilst age is the easiest way to define youth, there is no clear-cut definition of youth by age. Instead, in many post-industrialised societies such as the UK, youth as a category is often associated with particular institutional and policy purposes, such as education, employment and welfare (Wyn & White, 1997). The United Nations regards youth as the age cohort of 15 to 24 for general statistical purposes, such as population, labour and employment (The United Nations, 2013), whilst the European Union defines youth as individuals between ages of 13 and 30, as seen in its youth strategy for 2010-18 (The Commission of the European Communities, 2009). In the UK, young people are generally referred to as those aged 16-24 for statistical purposes (The Office for National Statistics, 2014). This age category has become prominent in recent years in policy-making and media reports in relation to ‘perceived’ youth problems, in the context of the post-welfare society and the 2008 global financial and economic crisis, such as NEETs (young people who are Not in Employment, Education and Training). Meanwhile, drawing on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child (UNCRC), a much broader interpretation of youth as “every human being under the age of 18 years” (UNICEF UK, 2009, p.4) has been increasingly popular in Scotland in connection with the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (The Stationary Office, 2014) as well as the extension of the franchise to 16 and 17 year-olds in the 2014 referendum for Scottish independence.

For the purpose of clarity, with regard to the various definitions of ‘youth’ in the literature, this thesis adopts an age-based definition of youth as individuals between the ages of 14 and 19 who share particular concerns about growing up and the transition to adult citizenship, in Scotland.

## **Distinction between formal and informal education**

Definitions of formal and informal education often entail dichotomous thinking in terms of the nature and purpose of learning as well as the space where learning takes place (Jeffs & Smith, 2010; Coburn & Wallace, 2011). Formal education is typically associated with schooling, characterised as having a structured curriculum, an institutionalised setting and compulsory participation, often leading to certification (Cartwright, 2012). In contrast, informal education refers to various forms of learning that occur “in and through everyday life” (Mills & Kraftl, 2014, p.3) with the focus on the needs, experiences and contributions of young people, and voluntary participation, aiming at fostering association, relationships and community (Smith, 2013). From this perspective, informal education is often claimed to offer “choice rather than compulsion, freedom instead of order, and empowerment not indoctrination” (Cartwright, 2012, p.152).

This distinction between formal and informal education is important for theoretical and administrative purposes. Yet, in practice, demarcating informal education from formal education is not an easy task. For instance, state involvement and the rise of professionalised youth work in the UK since the mid-twentieth century have resulted in the colonisation of informal education “by and for education policies that seek to manage the behaviour of ‘at risk’ youth and accord them responsibility for becoming self-governing, neoliberal subjects” (Mills & Kraft, 2014, p.3).

As I will argue in Chapter 4, community education, or Community Learning and Development (CLD) in Scotland, has increasingly been seen as a key vehicle for achieving the vision of the national *Curriculum for Excellence* (Education Scotland 2012b; 2013a) as well as the National Performance Framework of the Scottish Government (2012c, p.2) in order to create “a more successful country, with opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish, through increasing sustainable economic growth”. The creation of spaces for learning driven by young people’s concerns, interests, ambitions and aspirations can be easily squeezed out by a ‘top down’ agenda, driven by the interests of policy makers.

In addition, while concerns about the nature of space are crucial in distinguishing formal and informal education, it is important to note that the latter need not necessarily take place in 'informal' settings. As a matter of fact, in Scotland and elsewhere in the UK, school-based practice is one of the key strands of informal (or community) education working with young people (Jeffs, 2007; Coburn & Wallace, 2011). Similarly, formal education does not merely involve learning within the classroom setting, but also learning in the 'wider school community' (LTS, 2011). In regard to citizenship learning, linking experiences of learning in and outside school are seen as particularly important in order to offer a coherent and meaningful environment in which young people learn citizenship by directly engaging with the community or practising democracy (Biesta, 2011a).

In recognising the above overlaps and distinctions this thesis adopts a practical approach to definitions of formal and informal or community education, in relation to different contexts of citizenship learning:

- *Formal education* refers to 'invited' or 'institutionalised' spaces of citizenship learning with a focus on a fixed set of objectives, approaches and processes of the national curriculum; and
- *Informal or community education* refers to spaces *beyond* the invited spaces of citizenship learning that (ideally) reflect on and respond to the interests and experiences of young people as *engaged citizens*, and their participation not merely in formal schooling, but also in the community, wider society and democracy.

## Research questions

This research addresses the following question:

- What kind(s) of citizenship is taught and learnt in formal and informal citizenship education?

In order to guide the investigation more effectively, this question has been translated into four related sub-questions. These include:

- and perspectives of practitioners and young people about formal, school-based citizenship education?
- What are the views and perspectives of practitioners and young people about informal, community-based citizenship education?
- To what extent do formal and informal citizenship education involve complementary and/or contradictory practices?

This research explores the extent to which different models of citizenship are delivered and learnt in two main sites of education for citizenship in Scotland: formal-school and informal-community. These different ways of thinking about citizenship in each setting of citizenship education will deepen our knowledge and understanding of young people's lives as citizens and their participation in school, community, society and democracy within and beyond Scotland today.

Through a small-scale, qualitative research design, empirical data was gathered from selected groups of young people aged between 14 and 19 and adult practitioners in a secondary school and communities in central Scotland for the formal and informal settings respectively.

## **The argument of the thesis**

This thesis argues that there is a 'democratic deficit' in citizenship education. There has been a 'perceived' crisis in democratic citizenship in the UK and elsewhere across the world since the 1990s and this has brought about a resurgence of interest in citizenship education in which young people are a specifically targeted group. Yet, citizenship education is a fundamentally contested domain whereby conflicting and contrasting ideologies compete or co-exist. The Scottish version of *Developing for Global Citizens within the Curriculum for Excellence* (LTS, 2011) can be seen as an archetypal example of the latter. By exploring the similarities and differences between accounts of 'what adult practitioners do' and 'what young people learn' in each site, the thesis emphasises the tensions and challenges of citizenship education within and across different educational settings and their implications for the wider

debates about the complex relationship between citizenship, democracy and education.

This thesis deploys a theoretical framework for differentiating and analysing the types of education and learning that are accommodated under the banner of citizenship education. It distinguishes between approaches to education for citizenship that focuses on *membership of the community* (relationships and service work in communities), *formal political participation* (political literacy in terms of institutions, processes and procedures) and increasingly, *economic participation* (through a focus on employability skills). These different concerns involve a broad ideological mix of civic republicanism, liberalism and neoliberalism which informs citizenship education (see Chapter 2). The increasing emphasis on economic participation resonates with what can be termed a neoliberal version of 'responsibilised citizenship', that promotes an individualised and depoliticised understanding of citizenship, which is primarily to acquire the knowledge, skills and experiences to get on and get into the labour market through young people's individual efforts rather than one that is concerned with the collective needs and interests of young people.

The above trend tends to overlook the *de facto* experiences, interests and contributions of young people as 'engaged citizens' that is a prerequisite for creating *learning for activism* (that is, the commitment and capacity to think critically and act collectively in order to realise the inherent goals of democracy). However, this type of critical or social purpose education is seldom found in the curriculum. As a result, the experience of citizenship education is one young people often feel marginal to or marginalised from. Whilst they may be motivated to volunteer in the community and do want skills for success in the labour market, neither of these dimensions of teaching and learning are intrinsic to sustaining or invigorating democratic life. Moreover, the emphasis on formal political participation positions young people as citizens in waiting rather than engaged citizens.

From the perspective argued in this study, rather than the so-called 'youth problems', e.g. apathy, disinterest or lack of political literacy that prevail in

the current official policy framework, the issue to address is that of the 'invited' spaces of citizenship learning and participation, which seems to be at the heart of young people's social and political disengagement. As a matter of fact, there is a growing body of literature about 'late modernity' and 'life politics' (Giddens, 1991) which suggests a fundamental shift in political agency and participation from the old politics of right/left partisanship and parliamentary activities to a new terrain of politics *outside* formal processes and procedures, one of representative democracy. In these spaces young people can act as responsible and critical citizens, interested in and committed to a wide range of social, cultural and environmental issues, and engaged with various types of participation at the micro-level (e.g. everyday making) and macro-level (e.g. social movements and collective activism).

This thesis challenges the dominant assumption of 'disengaged youth' to focus instead on the democratic deficit at the heart of citizenship teaching and learning. Whilst the 'invited' spaces of citizenship learning, in both formal and informal settings are elements of democratic life, the goal of democracy calls for a need to include the 'invented' spaces of citizenship learning. This involves a broadened conception of citizenship and participation that may actually contribute to the democratic life of young people as citizens of the here and now, rather than as citizens in waiting.

## **Overview of the thesis**

Chapter 2 examines theoretical debates on the two key themes of this research, citizenship and young people. It highlights that citizenship is a fundamentally contested concept, in that the values and aspirations it might entail are open for legitimate debate. Three main ideological traditions of citizenship, i.e. liberalism, neoliberalism and civic republicanism, are discussed in detail in relation to the meaning of young people's citizenship and their participation in politics and wider society. Increasingly the



neoliberal version of citizenship, linked to struggles in the labour market, overshadows the tradition of liberal citizenship and the tradition of citizenship understood in the republican tradition as the right to rule as well as to be ruled.

Chapter 3 reviews literature pertinent to researching education for citizenship. First, it examines the dominant themes, trends and gaps in existing studies on education for citizenship that have been influential in framing the central aims and objectives of this research. Second, it critically engages with the literature on different models of education for citizenship in formal and informal settings, which provides the keystone of the conceptual framework underlying this research. The argument of this chapter is that a good deal of citizenship education is concerned with education for social cohesion in a changing social, political and economic context. The focus of education is primarily about learning how to be ruled rather than acquiring the critical capacities for ruling. Third, it introduces a new quadripartite model, along two axes, of education for citizenship on the basis of distinctive ideological and pedagogical aims of citizenship learning (membership, entrepreneurial citizenship, formal political participation and activism) at different scales of participation. This inclusive and discriminating framework is used in subsequent chapters to analyse empirical data collected. It provides the basis for differentiating between various strands of citizenship education and how these are aligned, prioritised or ignored in policy and practice.

Based on the critical analysis of key literature on schooling and community education, Chapter 4 reviews the policy trends of education for citizenship in Scotland since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Focusing on characteristics of the current curricular agenda of Education for Global Citizenship, this chapter considers the Scottish perspective of young people's citizenship learning in formal and informal citizenship education. It is argued that, increasingly, the spaces for informal education in the community are being colonised by policy to meet the national objectives of the government rather than being based on an expansion of democracy from

the grassroots upwards. The chapter draws attention to neoliberalism as a key driver in this development and critiques the emerging notion of an adaptive, responsible and self-regulating, 'entrepreneurial' citizen in the curriculum, fundamentally challenging the inherent role of education in supporting democratic citizenship as a prerequisite for building a more equal, inclusive and socially-just society.

Chapter 5 describes and discusses the research paradigm and methodology that underpins a small-scale, qualitative research design, that was employed in this study to gather empirical evidence of young people's experiences of citizenship learning and education in formal school and informal community settings. It comprehensively sets out and justifies the various qualitative methods chosen to collect, manage and analyse the cross-sectional data as well as ethical principles crucial to research involving young people.

The findings of this study are presented in three chapters. The conceptual framework of citizenship education discussed in Chapter 3 is used to systematically organise the analysis of data in each chapter. Chapter 6 presents the findings from the school setting and documents the multiple types of citizenship learning which the students experience. The traditional focus on political participation in school often works against young people's interests and experiences in playing an active role in society, in that it suppresses their capacity to act as citizens in the here and now. Teaching citizenship in the community can offset this to some extent but often this is taught in a depoliticised way, that is, primarily as a form of enhancing social capital through nurturing connections between young people and life in the community. Meanwhile, increasingly, the emphasis on learning to participate in the labour market supersedes learning for democracy. The struggle for democracy is replaced with a struggle for success in the labour market.

Chapter 7 focuses on the community setting and demonstrates the impact on policy of the ability of community educators to create spaces for education for democracy, which is also being diminished through a focus on the

employability agenda. At the same time, young people are involved in various voluntary community projects and are more animated by their capacity to contribute directly and actively to community life. This type of participation is similar to the notion of new politics discussed in Chapter 2. Although it can facilitate active experiences of citizenship, and engage with the motivation of young people to make a difference, the level of participation is often, although not entirely, at the micro level of the community. The problem that has then to be addressed is how to connect the micro and the macro, the local and the global, but this does not happen automatically. The knowledge and skills required for this to happen require a critical education which is suppressed by conflicting and alternative demands on community educators.

Results from the cross-site analysis are presented in Chapter 8. By revisiting narratives from the school and community settings, it is highlighted that there appears to be a greater degree of convergence, rather than divergence, between the two. The formal educational agenda of a 'responsibilised citizen' prevails both in the school and in the community, emphasising good personal characteristics and volunteering, political literacy and formal political participation as well as economic participation and employability. As these top-down agendas dominate both formal and informal settings, genuine opportunities for young people's citizenship learning by directly engaging with democracy are often limited. Meanwhile, real possibilities for contradictions between the school and the community occur over the meaning of activism and the role of education. Often, it is the community rather than the school that is regarded as having the potential for critical citizenship education, by both adult practitioners and young people. Yet, there is evidence of gaps in the activism young people are involved within the community setting, which mainly takes the form of micro-level activism, rather than engaging with collective social struggles and movements at the macro-level. Therefore, re-connecting micro- and macro-level participation remains a key challenge for education for citizenship.

Chapter 9 presents the conclusions of the thesis. It revisits the key findings of the empirical study and re-emphasises the main argument about the contested nature of education for citizenship in practice, in relation to the tensions between contrasting models of a good citizen. The growing dominance of neoliberalism and its new identity of citizens as responsible and self-managing private individuals, evident both in the school and the community, has a significant impact on the relationship between citizenship education and democracy. The outcome is a democratic deficit where learning is more targeted at the development of 'better' citizens in order to achieve the government's vision of wealth creation and economic prosperity, rather than building better democracy. For the latter, the role of the awkward, or dissident citizen is key. The evidence shows that this rhetoric is strongly supported by community educators who focus on social purpose education and grassroots youth activism as inherent aims of their practice. Yet, achieving these aims in reality seems incredibly difficult under the current policy framework. This has crucial implications for young people's citizenship, particularly in regard to the roles they are 'expected' to play as citizens-in-waiting and the roles they are already playing as engaged citizens in the everyday life of the community *outside* school as well as in various social action and political movements. The idea of young people as being deficient is challenged by the idea of the political system as the problem and also an education which has, in some respects, very little to do with democratic life.

## Chapter 2

# Citizenship and Young People

### Introduction

This chapter examines theoretical debates about two key themes of this research: citizenship and young people. Reviewing some of the classic debates on these subject areas, the chapter draws attention to citizenship as a *contextualised* and *contested* concept which shapes and manifests ideological tensions amongst different models of young people's learning for citizenship. The first half of the chapter focuses on historical and contemporary debates on three dominant models of citizenship: classic liberalism (citizenship as a formal status), civic republicanism (citizenship as participation in public life) and neoliberalism (citizenship as market choice). Based on the key characteristics of each model, the latter half of the chapter draws attention to discourses of young people's citizenship and their status as 'citizens in the

making' which is invariably informed by a deficit discourse, despite some progressive policy rhetoric. One result of this is that the potential for thinking about a broader concept of politics and political participation is avoided. However there is a growing body of literature that eschews the view of young people merely as apprentice citizens and incorporates a broader account of political repertoires and agency that is captured in the term of 'everyday makers'. This chapter sets out this literature as a conceptual backdrop to chapter three on 'education for citizenship' and chapter four on 'citizenship in educational policy in Scotland'. It also provides a range of critical concepts and distinctions that are returned to in the subsequent data analysis in chapters six, seven and eight.

## **Conceptualising citizenship**

Citizenship has varied definitions; many reports suggest that it is a fundamentally difficult notion which lacks common use or meaning in the general public's everyday discourse in the UK (Speaker's Commission on Citizenship, 1990; Benn, 1997; Miller, 2000). Schuck (1998 cited in Schuck, 2002, p.3) notes that citizenship is "little more than an empty vessel into which speakers may pour their own social and political ideals". Yet, understanding citizenship is crucial for democracy. On the one hand, in a minimal sense, it provides a basis of political legitimacy and stability of representative government. In most democratic societies, voting plays a central role in this, hence it can be considered as "the badge of citizenship" (Goldsmith, 2008, p.75).

On the other hand, in a maximal sense, it offers a sense of common goals and collective capacity amongst different groups of people in society, a requisite for social action and struggle towards progressive changes to bring about a more equal, inclusive and socially just, democratic society (Delanty, 2000; Lister, 2003a; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Biesta, 2011b). This latter rhetoric is particularly powerful with regard to the exercise and fulfilment of

citizenship for those who are marginalised and excluded, as it considers informal practice and engagement with everyday activities as essential elements of citizenship and promotes the “right to have rights” (Arendt, 1958).

Studying citizenship is essentially a normative activity which focuses not only on the kind of society and democracy that we currently live in, i.e. diagnostic understanding, but also that of the society and democracy that we want to build, i.e. critical imagination. Citizenship practices are far from being harmonious or consensual. In other words, the contextualised and contested nature of citizenship is at the core of the politics of democratic citizenship, determining and redefining what it means to *be* a citizen as well as to *act* as a citizen.

### ***Classic liberalism: Citizenship as a formal status***

Citizenship is essentially a status “which entitles individuals to a specific set of universal rights granted by the state” (Jones & Gaventa, 2002, p.3). In order to access these rights, full membership of a nation-state is a prerequisite (Delanty, 2000). From this viewpoint, it is important to note that status can be regarded as a right in itself, at least for those individuals “who are fortunate enough to be born” in the (western) democratic world where they “acquire status *as of right*, [therefore] do not have to *do* anything to become and remain citizens, unless they feel the status threatened” (Oldfield, 1990, p.179, original emphasis). Yet, in many parts of the world, there are still struggles related to the basic entitlement of status. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)’s *Global Appeal 2014-15*, over 35 million of the world’s population are currently suffering from having no nationality, from being stateless and/or displaced and having no fundamental rights or protection provided by the state (UNHCR Online, 2014).

In most democratic societies, such as in Britain and the USA, the entitlement of rights is usually accompanied by corresponding duties and responsibilities such as respect for others, obeying the law, paying taxes, voting and joining the military service (in times of war). Individuals who are fundamentally autonomous and rational make choices of their own to act as morally respectable and responsible citizens, which are, according to John Stuart Mill, “more socially desirable than legal compulsion or other forms of coercion” (quoted in Schuck, 2002, p.133). The embedded nature of citizen-state relations is contractual in the sense that the state’s primary role is to secure and protect its citizens by endorsing essential civil laws for their exercise of free moral agency and protection from threats by other individuals and arbitrary constraints by the government itself (Oldfield, 1990, p.179).

Resonating with the classic liberalism of the early western Enlightenment thinkers (e.g. Thomas Hobbs, John Locke, Adam Smith, David Hume, Adam Ferguson and John Stuart Mill), citizenship-as-status is, in essence, an *individualistic* conception in the sense that it focuses on natural rights of human beings who are essentially “sovereign and morally autonomous beings” and freedom to pursue their privacy and private interests. From this perspective, Oldfield (ibid., p.178) underlines that citizenship-as-status gives “rise to a language of ‘needs’ and ‘entitlements’ which are required both for human dignity and for the possibility of individuals being effective agents in the world”. Here, the depicted nature of freedom is fundamentally a negative one: i.e. freedom *from* the arbitrary constraint from others and the government (ibid.). The pursuit of such freedom usually occurs within *pre-political* domains such as conscience, religion, employment contracts and property rather than public-political domains of positive freedom, i.e. freedom *to* self-determination and self-realisation, crucial in the pursuit of the collective assertion of shared goals of members of the society (Berlin, 2006[1969]).

Citizenship-as-status creates a notion of ‘formal equality’ constructed on the basis of equal entitlement of these natural rights, that is, equal treatment



before the law (Delanty, 2000, p.14). Delanty argues that, whilst the formation of formal equality is heavily associated with the emergence of capitalist free markets and nation-states during the eighteenth century in Europe, primarily in relation to rights to enter into employment contracts and to possess property, its contemporary understanding is also influenced by the arrival of social democracy and the welfare state during the early twentieth century which resulted in a shift from a 'market-based' model of citizenship to a 'state-based' one (ibid). T. H. Marshall's essay, *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) has been influential in understanding this shift.

In the liberal tradition, Marshall defines citizenship principally in terms of formal status and a set of rights and responsibilities as well as universal entitlement for all those who are eligible:

Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. (Marshall, 1950, p.28-29)

For Marshall, citizenship is a particular outcome of modern British history, coinciding with the emergence of capitalism, the free-market economy, civil society and social class, between the eighteenth and the early twentieth century. Focusing on different types of rights during each century, Marshall articulates citizenship as an evolutionary development from civil and political rights to social rights. He summarises the three elements of rights as the following:

The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom — liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. The last is of a different order from the others, because it is the right to defend and assert all one's rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law... By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body... By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life

of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society. (Marshall, 1950, pp.10-11)

What is crucial to Marshall's theory is his understanding of capitalism as fundamentally a system of *inequality*, and social class is its direct consequence. As Williams (1992 quoted in Ellison, 1999, p.59) notes, the entitlement of formal equality cannot resolve the issue of social inequalities as it ignores inherent differences in power and resources. In reality, these have a significant impact on individuals' access and exercise of so-called 'universally' entitled rights; instead, it results in "false uniformity which eliminates, or reduces 'the diversity of identity, experience, interest and need in welfare provision'". Marshall (1950) considers that social rights, e.g. education, health care, housing and pensions, should remedy or reduce these negative impacts of capitalism. Following post-war Keynesian strategies, Marshall argues that it is the state, not the market, which is ultimately responsible for providing essential welfare and public services (ibid.).

Nonetheless, Marshall's citizenship theory has been subject to many criticisms. Some argue that Marshall's conception of social rights is embedded in an ameliorative view of inequality which accepts it as an indispensable condition of citizenship and democracy. It views inequality as an inevitable outcome of capitalist society which can be managed by the welfare state (Jones & Gaventa, 2002, p.3). The primary purpose of Marshall's social rights was social cohesion and solidarity by managing the risks of capitalism, especially in regard to the worst off, through a renewed redistribution system of taxation, public services and entitlement to guaranteed equal access to free market competition for everyone. As revisited by Marshall himself in the concluding chapter of *Citizenship and Social Class*, by welfare state and social rights, "we are not aiming at absolute equality", but should acknowledge that "there are the limits inherent in the egalitarian movement" (Marshall, 1950, p.77). In this vein, critics note that Marshall's view resonates with a reformist perspective and fundamentally lacks a transformative view that critiques and challenges capitalism as a problematic discourse of political economy. It fails to open up possibilities of

counter-hegemonic discourses to re-imagine an alternative world to the current version of market-based liberal democracy (Aronowitz, 2005; Giroux, 2005; Kaldor *et al.*, 2012).

Another criticism of Marshall's citizenship model is that it entails a depoliticised model of a 'private citizen'. Many note that Marshall puts too much emphasis on rights and not enough on responsibilities and duties, especially those towards public life (Stewart, 1995; Delanty, 2000; Adler, 2003). Citizenship is not merely a formal status or a passive entitlement to rights, but also entails social action and political engagement towards the achievement of shared interests and collective goals. As I will discuss in the following section, recognition of these aspects of citizenship-as-practice is particularly important for the marginalised and the excluded. For their right to have rights, (re-)connecting citizenship to fundamentally democratic experiences, especially in regard to progressive social change towards a more democratic society, is essential.

Citizenship-as-practice is fundamentally associated with a sense of active political agency as well as committed social responsibility towards the wellbeing and welfare of people in the community as a whole, rather than those of private individuals (Lister, 2003a). According to Oldfield (1990, pp.183-4), Marshall's citizenship theory fails to recognise these key aspects of citizenship-as-practice and the role of engaged citizens. Instead, it tends to produce problematic types of citizens, i.e. ignorant or apathetic free-riders who potentially endanger the maintaining of strong democracy and the democratic development of society as a whole.

Other criticisms of Marshall's citizenship theory include feminist critiques because of his sole focus on social class and redistribution as the central concerns of inequality. He therefore ignores challenging other forms of social inequalities such as gender, race, ethnicity and disability where recognition of difference is key (Young, 1990; Delanty, 2000; Lister, 2005; Lister, 2007a). Also, the emphasis on the nation-state is becoming less relevant to a contemporary globalised society and emerging multiple identities, e.g.

European, cosmopolitan and global citizenship (Held, 1995; Isin & Turner, 2002; Heater, 2006). Marshall's focus on the dominant culture of British society, more specifically its white, Christian, English history, lacks generalisability in today's multicultural UK (Kymlicka & Normam, 1994; Turner, 2009).

Marshall's citizenship theory assumes a cross-party consensus on the welfare state in post-war Britain. Marshall's focus on social citizenship underpins a fundamental shift from the primacy of classic liberalism of minimal government and the free market to social democracy of welfare rights and the big government, to regulate the market and to ensure a minimum standard of living for the poorest. This was probably the case until the 1980s but since then much has changed. The current consensus amongst the main UK political parties is to withdraw welfare as a universal right and to limit it to the 'deserving' poor. This has massive implications for debates on young people's citizenship, especially their entitlement of rights as equal citizens. Young people, especially those who are unemployed, are viewed as the 'undeserving' who are perhaps in need of education which delivers more responsibilities than rights. The balance between rights and responsibilities is regarded as being essential in citizenship-as-status. Yet, young people's entitlement to, and exercise of, basic rights e.g. voting is still a controversial issue in many democratic societies, including the UK.

Despite these criticisms, Marshall's theory remains helpful for studying young people's citizenship in many ways. It provides a useful theoretical framework for contemporary citizenship debates where membership of a nation-state and entitlement to rights play a crucial role. As Isin and Turner (2002, p.1) highlight, many citizen movements and claim-makings in recent decades of (western) political history, such as aboriginal rights, women's rights, gay/lesbian rights, animal rights and disability rights, have been from the demands of marginalised or excluded people in order to exercise their rights as *equal* citizens. I will demonstrate later in this chapter, to a large extent, how the argument about young people's citizenship and their role as (desired) democratic citizens can be interpreted as an extension of a similar

debate on civil rights movements, whereby recognition of young people's status as fundamentally marginalised citizens is thought to be key in order to empower young people as critically engaged citizens.

### ***Civic republicanism: Citizenship as participation in public life***

Globalisation has brought about radical changes in social conditions in the twenty-first century, fundamentally reshaping the way individuals are connected to the state and the wider world. Recognition of difference and cultural identities, the establishment of transnational and supranational organisations, the increased level of cross-border migration and the rapid development of information and communication technology, suggest that citizenship-as-status, whereby the nation-state plays a major role in defining and shaping meaning(s) of citizenship, is largely problematic (Held, 1995; Kerr, 1999; Giddens, 2001; Kymlicka, 2001; Nyers, 2007). De-coupling citizenship from the nation-state and the related descriptors such as national identity, rights and responsibilities, and formal political process is regarded as being important to understand the complexity and multiplicity of meanings of citizenship, not only as a formal status, but also as *social, political and cultural practice* involving ideas of 'human agency' and 'active participation' (Delanty, 2000; Lister, 2003a).

In the civic republican tradition of ancient Athens and Rome, the essence of citizenship-as-practice was its emphasis on participation in public spaces (Oldfield, 1990; Stewart, 1995; Delanty, 2000; Lister, 2003a; Abowitz & Harnish, 2012). Following Aristotle's and later Rousseau's conceptions, individuals are essentially political beings and have shared responsibilities and duties for both being governed *and* governing. These duties are integral to the self-development and self-actualisation of all individuals hence, "not to fulfil them is to cease to be a citizen" (Oldfield, 1990, p.181). It is only through public life that individuals' identities and roles are meaningfully defined and preserved, thus the liberal notion of 'private citizen' is an

oxymoron (ibid). The ancient Greek meaning of 'idiot' was the person who was not involved in public life (Parker, 2003). The role of the state is also fundamentally different from that of the (classic) liberal tradition which emphasises minimal government intervention (only) to protect and secure individual freedom from external interference and constraints.

In comparison, the civic republican tradition necessitates the state's active involvement in making desired citizens and the provision of institutional settings to enable the practice of political participation. According to classic republican thinkers such as Rousseau and Kant, participation is a true representation of *positive* individual freedom: that is, rational self-determination to be governed as well as to govern (Markus, 1999; Delanty, 2000). As Pateman notes, Rousseau's idea of the citizen is essentially *political*, i.e. his or her own master. "The individual's actual, as well as his sense of, freedom is increased through participation in decision making because it gives him [or her] a very real degree of *control* over the course of his life and the structure of his environment" including the political community he resides in (Pateman, 1970, p.26, original emphasis). The primary purpose of the state is to ensure the participatory process through which all individuals who are "equally dependent on each other and equally subject to the law" become their own masters and make autonomous *collective* decisions for the common good of the community as a whole, rather than for their private interests. For Rousseau participation serves an "integrative function...[that] increases the feeling among individual citizens that they 'belong' in their community" (ibid.)

In *Two Concepts of Liberty*, Berlin (2006[1969]) also separates positive freedom from negative freedom. Negative freedom paradoxically creates grounds for self-regulation or *coercion*, i.e. "the deliberate interference of other human beings within the area in which I could otherwise act" for other greater purposes such as respect for others, law obedience or public health, essentially associated with the social contract between members of a community (ibid., p.122). As a result, individuals are enslaved and unable to take meaningful control of their lives or processes of self-realisation (ibid.,

p.135). Here, Berlin proposes a notion of positive freedom which is, in essence, freedom *to* self-mastery, through which individuals achieve “the full development of their ‘true’ natures and the realisation of their capacities for rational decisions, for ‘making the best of themselves’” (ibid. pp.146-7). From this perspective, Berlin links to Rousseau’s idea of the general will, that is “the possession by all, not merely by some, of the fully qualified members of a society of a share in public power which is entitled to interfere with every aspect of every citizen’s life” (pp.162-3). In other words, positive freedom is the *sine qua non* of democratic society.

The point above is reinforced by Lister’s (2003a) distinction between citizenship-as-status and citizenship-as-practice which she defines as *being* a citizen and *acting* as a citizen. She states:

To be a citizen, in the legal and sociological sense, means to enjoy the rights of citizenship necessary for agency and social and political participation. To act as a citizen involves fulfilling the full potential status. Those who do not fulfil that potential do not cease to be citizens; moreover, in practice participation tends to be more of a continuum than an all or nothing affair and people might participate more or less at different points in the life course. (Lister, 2003a, p.42)

Importantly, the nature of the relationship between citizenship-as-status and citizenship is not contradictory but inter-reliant and mutually complementary in a way that an ideal, complete sense of citizenship recognises “the need to conceptualise citizenship as both a status, which accords a range of rights and obligations *and* an active practice” (Jones and Gaventa, 2002, p.5, original emphasis). In other words, citizenship is not merely something individuals are automatically entitled to, but something that they *do* in order to realise their full potential as active agents (ibid.). However, as Lister (2003a) stresses, the acquisition of a formal status is a prerequisite to exercising citizenship practice, as it provides individuals with essential civil, political and social rights to actualise their full potential status as citizens.

Conceptualising citizenship-as-practice has important implications for young people's citizenship and democracy. On the one hand, the lack of political participation, especially in voting, may pose a threat to the foundation and development of healthy democracy (Ichilov, 1990; Putnam, 1995; 2000; The Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998; Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley, 2004). In many countries, the public discourse of the decline in political engagement tends to centre on young people, whose political interests, skills and experiences are allegedly lower than the adult population. However, many authors report that political disengagement is a widespread phenomenon across generations and national borders, rather than only a youth problem (Kimberlee, 2002; Norris, 2003; Cushion, 2007; Dalton, 2008). Arguably, the bureaucratisation and technological advances in political systems have resulted in the alienation of ordinary citizens from the formal processes and procedures of (liberal) democracy (Lister, 2003a; Bang, 2005).

In contrast, there is evidence to suggest that people are actively engaged, and that their disengagement with formal politics and political participation is a representation of disillusionment with the current system, for not responding to the demands of the qualitatively different lifestyles and values of people in late modern society (Giddens, 1991; Inglehart, 1997; Bang, 2005). This literature notes that manifestations of discontent often exist *outside* of conventional politics, adopting non-traditional political issues and less-formal means of political participation.

One frequently hears references to growing apathy on the part of the public. These allegations of apathy are misleading: mass publics *are* deserting the old-line oligarchic political organizations that mobilized them in the modernization era — but they are becoming more active in a wide range of elite-challenging forms of political action. (Inglehart, 1997, p.207, original emphasis)

What has been termed the *New Politics* draws from more private and intimate issues of lifestyle and self-being, e.g. personal wellbeing, gender, sexual identity, environmental concerns and so forth. The means of participation are therefore extended to non-institutional activities, e.g. picketing, online



petitions, direct activism, the Occupy Movement and other alter-activist movements (Norris, 2003; Bang, 2005; Juris & Pleyers, 2009; Kaldor *et al.*, 2012; Giroux, 2013).

In many respects, the idea of *New Politics* resonates with Anthony Giddens' articulation of 'life politics'. Giddens (1991) separates life politics from 'emancipatory politics' that is associated with the previous modern-industrial society and primarily concerns the liberation of individuals from oppression and exploitation. In contrast, life politics is essentially connected to the late modern, post-industrialised society and involves issues of a "reflexively mobilised order... on an individual and collective level" that "flow from processes of self-actualisation in post-traditional contexts, where globalising influences intrude deeply into the reflexive project of the self, and conversely where processes of self-realisation influence global strategies" (ibid. p.214). Discourses of late modernity and life politics can be particularly powerful for citizenship of those who are marginalised, as it shifts the focus from a formal, legally-codified status, to a more inclusive conception of informal activities of struggle and action in everyday life (Ellison, 1997; Lister, 2003a; Bang, 2009).

The concept of human agency is essential for citizenship-as-practice in that it ascribes to individuals the very fundamental notions of an *authentic self* capable of autonomous, rational choice and a *relational self* whose meaning of existence is essentially embodied and defined in relation to other members of the community (Delanty, 2000). As Mann (quoted in Lister, 2003a, p.38) suggests, human agency played a pivotal role in the emergence of the cultural politics of the 1960s by forging new collective identities amongst previously marginalised 'second-class' citizens. It opened up public spaces where (otherwise) unrelated individuals could come together, share common issues and organise social action or movement to bring about progressive changes. The institutional setting of democracy which permits "dissident citizenship" is crucial because of "the practices of marginalized citizens who publicly contest prevailing arrangements of power by means of oppositional democratic practices that augment or replace institutionalized channels of

democratic opposition when those channels are inadequate or unavailable” (Sparks quoted in Lister, 2003a, p.28).

This idea of human agency is fundamentally different from that of the liberal tradition, i.e. a private citizen’s freedom to make unconstrained choices for self-interest. Instead it advances a ‘critical moral consciousness’ which is learned by engaging with others and essentially aims at challenging the unequal and unjust conditions of the *status quo*. Here, Paulo Freire’s notion of *conscientization*, i.e. the development of critical consciousness is useful (even if expressed in highly gendered terms):

... the “dialogical man” believes in other men even before he meets them face to face. His faith, however, is not naïve. “The dialogical man” is critical and knows that although it is within the power of humans to create and transform, in a concrete situation of alienation individuals may be impaired in the use of that power... He is convinced that the power to create and transform, even when thwarted in concrete situations, tends to be reborn. And that rebirth can occur — not gratuitously, but in and through the struggle for liberation — in slave labour being superseded by emancipated labour which gives zest to life. Without this faith in people, dialogue is a farce which inevitably degenerates into paternalistic manipulation. (Freire, 2005[1970], pp.90-91)

Resonating with Freire, Gough (1992 quoted in Lister, 2003a, p.7) underlines *autonomy* and *criticality* as vital components of human agency. Autonomy is “the capacity to make informed choices about what should be done and how to go about doing it” and criticality is “the ability to situate, criticise, and if necessary, challenge the rules and practice of one’s society” (ibid). From this viewpoint, this transformative element of human agency is a distinctive characteristic of citizenship-as-practice which fundamentally re-politicises the liberal tradition’s demoralised and depoliticised conception of citizenship, reconnecting it into critical social engagement and political participation for critical democracy.

### ***Neoliberalism: Citizenship as a market choice***

The essence of neoliberalism lies in its (over-)emphasis on the supremacy of the market as a template, not merely for economic activities, but for all social relations and public life (Giroux, 2013). Exerted by the New Right ideology of the Thatcherite government in the UK and the Reaganite government in the USA, during the 1970s and 1980s, it combined market fundamentalism and social conservatism. Neoliberalism is not merely an economic or political theory but a new Gramscian ‘common-sense’ (Giroux, 2005; 2013; Hall & O’Shea, 2013). It has dismantled the post-war, cross-party consensus on social democracy, the welfare state and social rights, dominating every aspect of a citizen’s life wherein “everything is for sale or is plundered for profit” (Giroux, 2005, p.2).

For Gramsci, ‘common sense’ is not practical wisdom but a way of thinking about and understanding the world that is common to a given group of individuals or to a society as a whole but reflects the interests and outlook of a dominant social group in an unequal society.

We have established that philosophy is a conception of the world and that philosophical activity is not to be conceived solely as the “individual” elaboration of systematically coherent concepts, but also and above all as a cultural battle to transform the popular “mentality” and to diffuse the philosophical innovations which will demonstrate themselves to be “historically true” to the extent that they become concrete — i.e. historically and socially — universal. (Gramsci, 1999, p.663)

Gramsci further differentiates *common sense* from *good sense*. Common sense is often fragmentary and incomplete in its nature and this allows common sense a possibility to constantly reshape and evolve. Hence, common sense may feel coherent at times due to its shared usage or understanding amongst the members of society. Good sense is part of common sense, i.e. “the healthy nucleus” of common sense which “deserves to be made more unitary and coherent” as it provides “a conscious direction to one’s activity” (ibid., p.633). For Gramsci, social revolution involves a ‘war of position’: that is,

intellectual and cultural struggle to advance good sense based on a working class hegemony.

The struggle that Gramsci saw as necessary for social transformation was unsuccessful in Italy. Today the dominant hegemony is informed by common sense neoliberalism which is radically transforming citizen identity as privatised and depoliticised, creating a 'citizen-consumer' whose primary duty is to make market choices. For instance, Massey (2013) examines the detrimental impact of what she calls the "vocabularies of the economy" on both individual subjectivities and social relations in which the free market, wealth, competition, growth, self-interests, investment, consumption and choice are seen as positive, necessary and making sense. Alternatively, vocabularies of critical (social) democracy such as the state, equality, social justice, the public, collective claim-making, expenditure, regulation and intervention are regarded as being irrational, unfit or unnecessary. She underlines that "while presented as a description of the natural and the eternal, [neoliberalism] is in fact a political construction that needs contesting" (ibid., p.7). For example:

The dominant ideology is inculcated through social practices, as well as through prevailing names and descriptions. The mandatory exercise of 'free choice' — of a GP, of a hospital to which to be referred, of schools for one's children, of a form of treatment — is, whatever its particular value, also a lesson in social identity, affirming on each occasion that one is above all a consumer, functioning in a market. (Massey, 2013, p.5)

For Massey, through everyday vocabularies as in interpersonal conversations, popular media and policy-making, neoliberalism becomes a natural condition of society, effectively dissolving the public sphere of critical enquiries and collective action into the private domains of individual choice and profit-making through which the economy becomes "a matter for experts and technocrats" rather than "democratic control" (ibid, p.16). The kind of citizenship observed here is depoliticised and dehumanised. Ordinary citizens are disempowered by market processes, and the poor, and

other vulnerable groups, are further marginalised from society and democracy itself.

Another noteworthy argument associated with common-sense neoliberalism is about its nature of working through and with consent, which makes it hard for a meaningful political struggle, as in the sense of Gramsci's "war of position" (1999). Gramsci (ibid.) suggests two types of political struggle against the dominant common-sense, i.e. a "war of manoeuvre", which is a direct frontal assault on the state and a "war of position", that is, a systematic struggle against ideological and cultural domination of common-sense. The role of critical educators, or "organic intellectuals" as Gramsci calls them, is crucial in the latter. Amongst other things the role of the organic intellectual is to conceptualise systematic critiques and strategies for struggle against common-sense which operates through *consent*, rather than *coercion* (Hall & O'Shea, 2013). Gramsci puts this as follows:

The suprastructures of civil society are like the trench systems of modern warfare. In war it would sometimes happen that a fierce artillery attack [i.e. the war of manoeuvre] seemed to have destroyed the enemy's entire defensive system, whereas in fact it had only destroyed the outer perimeter...The same thing happens in politics, during the great economic crises. (Gramsci, 1999, p.490)

Challenging the basic assumptions of the post-war welfare state, such as collective responsibilities for redistribution and social reproduction, government commitment towards egalitarian society, full employment, social rights and balance between market, state and civil society, the reforms of the Thatcherite governments introduced what MacGregor (1999) refers to as a "neo-liberal post-modern regime". This entails trimming the size of government in order to install the market as a key institution for distribution of goods and services. Unemployment, poverty and other social inequalities were accepted in the name of 'freedom of choice'. This led to a creation of a new kind of neoliberal consensus, grounded in market fundamentalism and new authoritarianism that included characteristics of:

- the unacceptable social costs and moral hazards of the unrestrained market individualism of the 1980s
- the worldwide collapse of central-planning institutions, the economic vehicle of classical socialism
- the universal rise — in a wide diversity of forms — of market institutions;
- the acceptance that there is no possibility of returning to corporatist institutions and policies. (Gray, 1996, p.7)

As is noted frequently in the literature (Rose, 1999; Landrum, 2000; Kisby, 2007; Cooper, 2008; Davies, 2012), the New Rights' neoliberal ideology of so-called 'private-good, public-bad' was neither resisted nor subdued but preserved and reinforced during the following era of the New Labour government (1997-2010). It was simply reinvented into its (supposedly) new ideology of 'communitarianism' and 'Third Way' politics. The most obvious contrasting points between the neoliberal Right and communitarian New Labour perhaps occurs over the latter's focus on community, rather than individuals or families, as "a core constituent of its attempt to forge a 'new' political agenda" (Calder, 2004).

Borrowing heavily from American communitarianism, as advocated by Amitai Etzioni (1995) and Robert Putman (1993; 2000), New Labour's communitarianism defines citizens not as "isolated individuals" but as members of a community. They thus have a moral duty in communal life. A strong community, which is fundamentally based upon "the mutuality of duty and reciprocity of respect", is viewed as being pivotal for healthy (social) democracy (Blair, 2002). In doing this, New Labour separated itself not only from the New Right in the 1980s and 1990s which focused on a "narrow, selfish individualism" but also from Old Labour. It stressed the "1945 'big state' that wrongly believed it could solve every social problem" (ibid.). Instead, New Labour's aim was of "an enabling state founded on the liberation of individual potential" in order to contribute to rebuilding a "strong civic society where rights and duties go hand in hand" (ibid.).

This recognition of reciprocity between individuals' pursuit of autonomy and social obligations, or "no rights without responsibilities" as Giddens (1998, p.65) puts it, is one of the distinctive values of New Labour's third way politics wherein neither (classic and neo-) liberal nor egalitarian principles are fundamental. Cooper (2008, p.40) highlights that under New Labour, welfare was neither dead nor dying, but "just transubstantiated" into "a servant of the market state, with the health and welfare workforce as brokers in a new social contract that binds the 'responsibilised' individual to the exercise of choice in a supermarket of opportunity". In a similar vein, McCafferty (2010) argues that New Labour's communitarian or third way politics essentially share many converging characteristics with the New Right's neoliberal politics as being epitomised by its focus on enterprise education aiming at equipping young people with competitive and flexible *entrepreneurial* business values in order to resolve "the long-term concern to 'marry' economic efficiency and social justice ... central to New Labour rhetoric from its inception" (p.550).

McCafferty (ibid.) further notes that, despite the relative absence of New Labour's direct influence in Scotland, the Scottish experience was not very different from its southern neighbour. Provision of enterprise education and other related learning experiences were also significantly increased during the late 1990s and 2000s in Scotland (ibid). As a matter of fact, "the prospect of devolution helped create both the scope and the necessity for official engagement with the business community [in a way that] Scotland could undergo the transformation into a dynamic entrepreneurial economy through an apparent mobilization of business in the service of both devolution and the delivery of social justice (just as New Labour had nationally) and shift the assumed 'socially oriented' and hence 'culturally less entrepreneurial', civic Scotland orientation of the parliament that had arguably been central to its creation" (Raco, 2002a; 2002b cited in McCafferty p.556). What such a cross-nationally supported idea of enterprise education indicates is that neoliberalism is indeed not party-specific, but a shared *common-sense* way of thinking, which is reconstructing and reformulating

what it means to be a citizen of the welfare state *after* the golden age of social democracy in a new, neoliberal global order (Esping-Anderson, 1994).

From this viewpoint, it is perhaps not surprising to observe many current markers of the impacts of neoliberalism on young people. Although there may be some rhetorical differences in respect of the unique Scottish context, led by the Scottish National Party (SNP), and the resultant revival of the independence agenda, the overall climate of neoliberalism's 'war on youth' persists. It may have become even more severe during the past few years across the UK since the austerity measures of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government came into effect in late 2010.

We also need to pay attention to the more assertive punitive measures which fundamentally redefine youth, not as recipients of adequate social protection or educational provision, but as being trouble themselves or in trouble (Fyfe, 2010, pp.74-5), i.e. the disposable. Here, young people are directly affected by, and suffer from, the neoliberals' frontal attack, i.e. minimal government, withdrawal of welfare provision, reduction in public and social investment, deregulation and 'free' market competition. Hall, Massey and Rustin (2013) summarise the devastating circumstances of young people after the 2008 financial crisis in the UK. They note:

In the UK, the cuts programme has frozen incomes, capped benefits, savaged public sector employment and undermined local government. It has encouraged private capital to hollow-out the welfare state and dismantle the structure of health, welfare and education services. The burden of 'solving' the crisis has been disproportionately off-loaded on to working people, targeting vulnerable, marginalised groups. These include low-income, single-parent families; children in poverty... the disabled and the mentally ill; welfare-benefits and low-cost public housing 'dependants'; the young unemployed (especially black youth); and students. Youth facilities have been closed; and citizens who depend on public amenities for their social well-being find themselves bereft. (Hall, Massey & Rustin, 2013, p.9)



Similarly, in Scotland, despite its ongoing policy interventions to enhance life chances of young people (e.g. Education Scotland, 2014), the recent survey by the Scottish Government (2014a, pp.25-6) found that 180 thousand children and young people still live in relative poverty, 30 thousand more than the previous year; 110 thousand children and young people live in combined low income and material deprivation, 20 thousand more than the previous year. In addition, the Scottish youth unemployment rate was still as high as 20.6%, that is 0.5% above the UK average (BBC New Online, 2014b), with 11.9% of young people not in employment, education or training; young females' NEET level was slightly higher than that of young males (12.0% and 11.8% respectively) (The Scottish Government, 2014b).

The key concern associated with the consequences of common-sense neoliberalism is its impact on critical consciousness needed for questions such as 'what is the economy for?', 'what kind of democratic society do we want to live in?' and 'what do we mean by good citizens?'. Instead, economic growth is unquestioned whilst public goods and welfare are increasingly privatised and corporatised, further deteriorating the lives of those who are already marginalised and disadvantaged. What is worse, the public sphere is fundamentally dismantled into a private sphere of profit-making for resilient, self-reliant and self-regulating *entrepreneurial* individuals (Chomsky, 1997; Bang, 2005; Giroux, 2013; Massey, 2013; Hall & O'Shea, 2013).

Although writing about a different context, Giroux (2013) particularly pays attention to the link between neoliberalism and a 'global' war on young people who are living under neoliberal-driven educational and social policy reform and fundamentally lacking opportunities to develop collective and critical citizenship, as well as spaces for participation. Here, he warns about criminalisation of youth, especially amongst those who are already disadvantaged, e.g. African-American and unemployed youth. Young people are a specifically targeted group for neoliberal public discourses which conceive them as the source of the current social and political ills.

For Giroux, however, there is hope in these dark times; a kind of hope he observes from young people's new social movement of anti-capitalism, the Occupy Movement, to tackle the current assault by neoliberalism on all aspects of society, including education as well as democracy. Giroux recalls that the rise of the Occupy Movement in 2011 showed how partial representation of disaffection and disenchantment amongst young people, across small and big communities of the world, succeeded in finding an alternative domain of collective claim-making to challenge market fundamentalism (ibid.). From this perspective, the Occupy Movement not only draws attention to a new possibility for radical social change and radical democracy but also revitalises questions about the inherent aims of education and learning. According to Giroux, these are not matters of classroom management techniques or teaching methods, but matters of "moral and political practice" that are always concerned with language, politics and power (ibid., p.185).

Giroux further argues that, in order to enable such capacities for radical imagination, the kind of education we need is not the banking type, filled with "draconian discipline, standardized testing, corporate values, and a pedagogy of conformity, ignorance, and oppression" but instead we need *critical pedagogy* which "provides alternative forms of knowledge, connects students' experience with learning itself, and encourages students to think beyond the given, to think otherwise in order to act otherwise" (ibid., p.190). In other words, education which embodies critical pedagogy has a genuine potential to liberate young people's political agency as *real* citizens by equipping students with knowledge and skills of "how to govern and not merely be governed" (ibid.) At the heart of such a learning process, there is the development of critical consciousness, through which young people deliberate, critique and resist cultural hegemony. Therefore education can have crucial implications for democracy.

Critical pedagogy for progressive social transformation should not be restricted to within the classroom walls, but moves across different formal and informal sites of learning as "borderless pedagogy" (Giroux, 2013). As

the Occupy Movement illustrated, domains of new social movement and cultural struggle against neoliberalism tend to exist *outside* the traditional domains of left/right-wing, parliamentary politics as well as the dominant media sources (Kaldor *et al.*, 2012; Giroux, 2013). From this perspective, Giroux (2013, p.141) notes that the Occupy protesters are, to a large extent, “border crossers, willing to embrace a language of critique and possibility that makes visible the urgency of talking about politics and agency not in the idiom set by gated communities and anti-public intellectuals, but through the discourse of civic courage and social responsibility”.

Kaldor and her colleagues (2012) also observe that the Occupy Movement is an archetypal example of the new “subterranean politics” bubbling up to the surface across Europe. Nevertheless, it is usually invisible, or undetectable, in mainstream political debates because of its fundamental nature of being mobilised and disseminated by underground grassroots activists, using new technologies such as the Internet and social media and shaping varied unorthodox forms of political representation and claim-making at subterranean levels.

For Giroux, education is adapted into “what might be called a ‘gated’ or ‘border’ pedagogy — one that, with established boundaries to protect the rich, isolates citizens from one another, excludes those populations considered disposable, and renders young people invisible, especially poor youth of color, along with others marginalized by class and race” (Giroux, 2013, p.134). Therefore, Giroux underlines the development of more committed critical educators as crucial to assist and extend the impacts of the “new generation of border crossers and a new form of border-crossing pedagogy...keeping critical thought alive while challenging the further unravelling of human possibilities” (*ibid.*, p.141).

As noted in other literature (e.g. Chomsky, 1997; Bauman, 2000; Hall, 2011; Massey, 2013), the influence of common-sense neoliberalism penetrates into *all* aspects of individuals’ lives, hence Giroux’s proposal of borderless critical pedagogy by borderless intellectuals is not perhaps surprising. Indeed, movements against neoliberalism, especially those that aim for a systematic

struggle for its ideological and cultural domination, i.e. the war on position, require a multitude of creative strategies to move beyond the traditional, gated domains of mainstream politics and political decision-making and to bring about more effective and meaningful social transformation.

In this section, I examined different ways of conceptualising citizenship in Scotland shaped by three ideological traditions. Table 2.1 below summarises the main characteristics of these.

**Table 2.1: Three dominant models of citizenship**

	Classic liberalism	Neoliberalism	Civic Republicanism
<b>Domain</b>	The state and market	Market and transnational/ international institutions	Civil society and community
<b>Meaning of citizenship</b>	Citizenship as formally and legally coded status	Citizenship as market choice — ‘citizen-consumer’	Citizenship as social, cultural and political practice
<b>Focus</b>	Universal entitlement of civil, political and social rights	Primacy of private interests	Participation in public life as a fundamental duty of a citizen
<b>Dominant discourse</b>	Economic	Ultra-economic (market fundamentalism)	Political
<b>Nature of society</b>	Liberal individualism	Privatisation and commodification of the public	Pluralism
<b>Self identity</b>	An autonomous, rational being	A self-regulating, private being	A member of a community: i.e. a political being
<b>Role of the state</b>	Protection & minimal intervention	A shift from government to ‘governance’: emphasis on self-responsibility	Active intervention & welfare provision
	Redistribution of wealth	Reinforcement of market freedom — freedom of choice	Recognition of difference
	Formal equality	Criminalisation of the poor and other disadvantaged groups of people	Substantial equality’ and ‘right to have rights’
<b>Limits</b>	Exclusion of second class and non-citizens	Decline of the social	Power/struggle
	‘Free-riding’: apathy and disengagement	A threat to critical, participatory democracy	Narrow conception of the political as parliamentary activities and voting
<b>Young people</b>	Young people as citizens in the making	Young people as being irresponsible and dependent: i.e. the ‘undeserving’	Young people as engaged citizens
<b>Aim of education</b>	Socialisation	Entrepreneurial ‘human capital’	Participation in public life & social change

As the table above demonstrates, each citizenship model entails a distinctive understanding of the nature of self and society, as well as the role played by the state and the market. This is associated with conflicting and contrasting ideas of good citizenship character and behaviour, needed to resolve relevant social issues and build the society each model aspires to. From this perspective, contesting citizenship ideologies have crucial implications for young people's citizenship and the role of education. The following section explores in detail discussions related to contrasting views on young people's citizenship.

## **Young people and citizenship**

There is inherent tension between young people and the notion of citizenship (Fyfe, 2003; Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Reynaert, Bouverne-de-Bie & Vamdevelde, 2009). Traditionally, citizenship is regarded as an 'adult experience' (France, 1998) and in Marshall's essay of *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950), young people are defined as "citizens *in the making*" (p.25, my emphasis). From this perspective, Stalford (2008) underlines that young people's access to citizenship is fundamentally 'by proxy', essentially excluding them from the entitlement of fundamental citizenship rights.

A common view is that young people are gradually equipped with rights and responsibilities, and eventually acquire full membership of society when entering into adulthood (Fyfe, 2003). This focus on adult-oriented citizenship may result in the marginalisation of the experiences of young people in the community as 'engaged citizens' (Lister, 2003b; Percy-Smith, 2010). This is because transition into adult citizenship is a complex process that is affected by a range of personal and environmental factors such as family, social class, poverty, gender, race, ethnicity, educational attainment, peer group interaction, media consumption and wider social, cultural, economic and political conditions (Jones & Wallace, 1992; Torney-Purta *et al*, 2001; Kimberlee, 2002; Fyfe, 2003; Smith *et al.*, 2005; Leung, 2006; Furlong &

Cartmel, 2007; Schulz *et al.*, 2010). From this perspective, young people's acquisition of citizenship, far from being a Marshallian, universal entitlement of formal status and access to rights, often involves constant 'struggle' between young people's agency and structural constraints in the community they belong to (Lister 2003b; Smith *et al.*, 2005; Leung, 2006).

Lister and her colleagues (2003), in a qualitative, longitudinal study of young people in England found that citizenship had both inclusive and exclusive meanings for young people. The majority of the young people agreed with the classic, liberal notion of citizenship as formal status and its universal entitlement to all members of society. Yet, a sharp distinction occurred over the participants' understanding of a desirable 'first class' citizen whereby economic participation, i.e. paid employment and tax payment, played a key role. The study discovered that many disadvantaged young people, due to having few or no qualifications and unstable employment status, were more likely to identify themselves as second class citizens who are "seen as dependent, as not exercising responsibility, as not contributing to or participating in society as tax-payers or consumers" (*ibid.*, p.242).

Young people's citizenship received a renewed interest in 1989 with the establishment of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC). Embedded in Roger Hart's progressive approach (1992) to include young people as equal partners in decision-making processes and conceptualise youth participation as meaningful rather than tokenistic, the UNCRC is ratified in all countries of the world (except Somalia and the USA). It urges the extension of young people's rights from the basic sense of survival and protection rights to a more advanced notion of rights to 'have a say' and 'make influences on decision-making' as proposed in article 12 of the convention (UNICEF UK, 2009, p.3)

In resonance with the UNCRC, the *(Revised) European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life* (The Council of Europe, 2012) also advocates for young people's rights to participation:

The active participation of young people in decisions and actions at local and regional level is essential if we are to build more democratic, inclusive and prosperous societies. Participation in the democratic life of any community is about more than voting or standing for election, although these are important elements. Participation and active citizenship is about having the right, the means, the space and the opportunity and where necessary the support to participate in and influence decisions and engage in actions and activities so as to contribute to building a better society. (The Council of Europe, 2012, p.5)

Yet, as many critics argue, youth participation often occurs *without* empowerment “at the expense of wider interpretations of the way human beings ‘participate’ in society” (Percy-Smith, 2010, p. 112) In recent years, youth involvement has become a new orthodoxy of policy and decision making in many democratic societies, including Scotland (Bessant, 2003; Middleton, 2006; McCulloch, 2007; Tisdall, 2013). However, as Philippa Collin (2007) suggests, types of youth participation can vary in reality, reflecting the fundamentally contextualised and contested nature of both ‘citizenship’ and ‘youth’. She articulates two popular forms of youth participation in Australia:

- a) *youth development* that aims to prepare young people as ‘becoming’ citizens;
- b) *youth involvement* that aims to enable young people to exercise their citizenship as ‘full’ citizens.

Many authors such as Hart (1992; 2008), France (1998), Fyfe (2003) and Biesta (2011b) underline that whilst in theory most policy documents take a progressive view of young people as citizens of today, in practice an opposite view persists, i.e. young people as citizens “in the making” (Marshall, 1950, p.25).

Kirshner (2008, p.64) carefully observes the role of adults as “obstacles to access rather than exemplars to emulate” by offering decorative, manipulative or tokenistic opportunities for youth participation which are, in Hart’s ladder of participation (1992), forms of *non-participation*. Drawing on Foucault’s understanding of ‘the disciplinary society’ and ‘governance’,

McCulloch (2007) argues that the distinction between participation as *surveillance* and participation as *critical social action* is crucial, not only for young people but for democracy itself. For McCulloch, participation as surveillance is primarily a form of discipline or social control “intended to create normative conformity” amongst young people by assimilating them into the adult-built, invited spaces of society, thus hardly challenging the *status quo* (ibid. pp.9-10). Participation as critical social action focuses on the development of the critical capacity of young people to challenge and reconfigure the existing system and relations of power, thereby contributing to progressive social transformation.

Crucial to conceptions of youth citizenship and participation is that youth are not a homogenous group but involve many diverse heterogeneous groups whose life experiences are structured in differentiated and unequal terms by a wide range of factors such as social class, poverty, employment, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, education, community and the media (France, 1998; Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Lister, *et al.*, 2003). This is translated into the idea of “lived citizenship”: “the meaning that citizenship actually has in people’s lives and the ways in which people’s social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens” (Hall & Williamson, 1999 quoted in Lister, 2007b, p.695). In other words, becoming an adult in a democratic society entails a unique process of political socialisation in which each young person creates his or her own transitional path to adult citizenship by interacting and negotiating with various economic, political, social and cultural factors.

The octagonal diagram below provides an overview of youth political socialisation, determined and reshaped by a range of factors at personal, local, national and international levels (Figure 2.1, page 45).

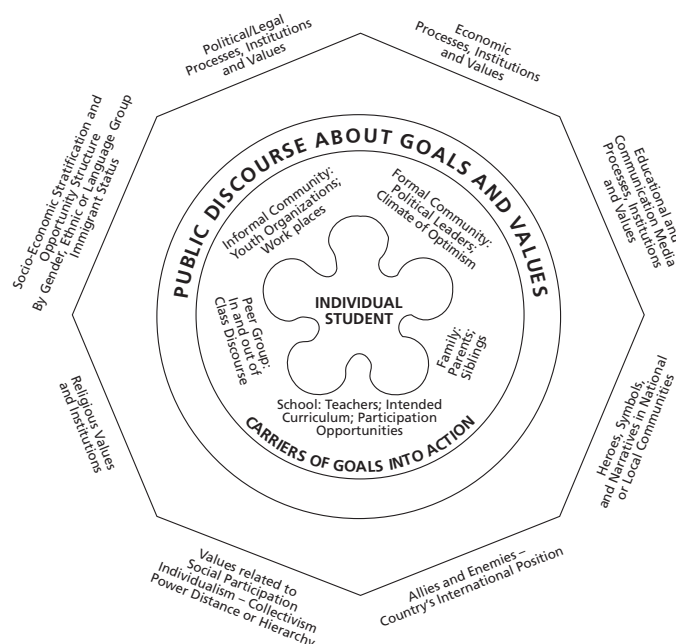
It should be noted that a young person, located at the centre of the diagram, is a fundamentally reflexive moral agent who actively negotiates and makes sense of his or her own experience and process of political socialisation, rather than a passive recipient (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Leung, 2006). The



inner circle indicates micro-level carriers or agents that impose a particular set of goals and values of the public discourse of education for citizenship and have direct, face-to-face relationships with a young person's life. They include:

- family: parents, siblings and (sometimes) carers and extended family
- school: teachers, the national (official) curriculum, the hidden curriculum and other opportunities for participation
- peer groups: both in and out with school;
- community: neighbours, members of youth forums/ organisations and colleagues at work places
- formal political culture: political leaders, political parties, policies and the climate of optimism.

**Figure 2.1: Youth political participation**



(Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001, p.21)

The outer octagon underpins the macro-systems and structures which determine and reshape the overarching legal, social, cultural, political and economic environment where a young person engages as a citizen. It should be noted that these macro-level factors are not only defined by the conditions of a given nation-state but also by the international and global contexts which influence the state's particular positions and relations with others. As

Giddens (2001) highlights, globalisation is ubiquitous in the lives of ordinary citizens, as manifested in the financial crisis in 2008 and its immense impacts on the lives of countless individuals across the world (McKibbin & Stoeckel, 2009). Recognition of factors *beyond* the nation-state is increasingly becoming more important for understanding and studying political socialisation of contemporary young people.

Yet, Bransford *et al.* (2006) and Leung (2006) argue that the traditional conception of political socialisation, which puts more emphasis on macro-level national and international factors, should be avoided as it locates a young person at the peripheral level, as a static and passive recipient of pre-defined goals and values of public discourse of citizenship. Instead, the approach in Torney-Purta *et al.* (2001)'s octagon above, deliberately repositions the young person at the 'core' of the process, emphasising his or her active human agency to interact, negotiate and compromise with the external environment.

Recognition of young people as active agents fundamentally challenges the traditional deficit view of youth and youth citizenship. In the exploration of young activists' experiences in Hong Kong, Leung (2006) assesses that young people *are* engaged citizens who are "interested and competent in participating in political activities interpreted in a broad sense", as in *New Politics*, "such as serving the underprivileged, writing responses to consultative documents and joining rallies and demonstrations" (p.65). The wider social, cultural, political and economic contexts were found to be important for young people's practice of active citizenship, however their impacts were not pre-determined, but varied at an individual level, depending on the course of action that a young person decided to take.

In a similar vein, Torney-Purta *et al.* (2001) outline that young people's development of citizenship involves learning about basic political literacy, but it is certainly 'not' confined to this. Citizenship, in its broader conception of 'practice', encompasses social action and political participation which occur in various domains of life experience as well as at "different points in

the life course” (Lister, 2003a, p.42). From Leung (2006)’s viewpoint, a fundamental shift away from the traditional view that sees young people as ‘lacking citizenship’ is crucial as it puts them “ in the state of limbo”; instead, young people should be recognised as capable of playing an essential role in the building of a more democratic society (p.58).

### ***Contesting discourses of youth (in-)activism***

*New Politics* involves a wider concept of ‘the personal as political’ and ‘the political as personal’ as well as political participation and local activism in understanding political identity and the behaviour of contemporary citizens. Yet, such views are seldom taken into account when studying young people and their activism.

Because of the above, the research evidence suggests that today’s young people are more apathetic, indifferent and disengaged from formal politics and society than in previous generations (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Edcoms, 2008; Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010; Henn & Foard, 2011). These accounts are often based on a narrowly defined concept of ‘the political’ and politics, largely in relation to the systems and procedures of liberal representative democracy: e.g. voting and political party membership as well as attitudes towards the government and other social and political institutions. Based on quantitative survey data, these studies document a dwindling voting turnout, declining political party membership, a lack of political skills and experiences and apathetic attitudes amongst young people in Britain and elsewhere.

Some authors (Butler & Stokes, 1969; Verba & Nie, 1972; Kimberlee, 1998, Edcoms 2008) explain the disengagement of young people as part of a ‘life cycle’ effect which implies that apathy is a natural characteristic of youth (and childhood) but as they “age and develop a greater stake in society (for example, as they marry, procreate, accumulate debt, own houses and

mortgages and pay taxes), they will become more interested in politics” (Denver quoted in Edcoms 2008, p.32). Whilst this approach locates the source of political disengagement *within* young people or ‘problematic youth’, it can be referred to as ‘youth-focused explanations’ (Kimberlee, 2002). Other authors argue that the essence lies *beyond* young people: that is, in the fundamental problems of the political system and in the structure of representative democracy itself.

These ‘politics-focused explanations’ (Kimberlee, 2002) claim that the traditional exclusionary characteristics of (old) formal politics such as elitism, left/right partisanship and voting as a central means of decision-making have ‘failed’ to attract a new generation of young people. Henn and Weinstein (2006), Sloam (2007), Banaji (2008) and Maitles (2009) demonstrate that political distrust is a widespread phenomenon amongst young people in Britain. In the main, they do not think that politicians tell the truth or keep their promises and, most importantly, they believe that there is a fundamental lack of genuine representation of young people’s interests and values in formal politics and political processes.

However, in most studies, young people were found to be willing to participate, but had no real means to do so, or became disillusioned when they did participate, by what they called ‘dirty’ politics in which their elected members of parliament worked for their own benefit rather than for the people who voted for them. As a result, scepticism and cynicism are common and the decision *not* to participate in formal politics is often a critically-conscious and deliberate one, rather than a sign of apathy or lack of interest. Similar results were also reported in other countries (Bennet & Xenos, 2005; Collin, 2007; Cushion, 2007).

Another argument is that young people do not participate in the conventional avenues of formal politics because they have found ‘alternative’ ways to act, such as in ‘life politics’ and ‘identity politics’ which focus on self-reflexive and post-materialist values in late modern society (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Inglehart, 1997; Kimberlee, 2002; Norris, 2003; Dalton, 2008).

Kimberlee (2002) refers to these theories as alternative value explanations. This study has been directly influenced by Pippa Norris's idea of *New Politics* (2003; 2007) as it directly focuses on young people and their political participation. In studying various examples of activism and activist movements in recent decades, she proposes the emergence of a new domain of politics which encapsulates a radical shift in the ways that the political and political activities are conceptualised: i.e. from a politics of *loyalties*, which concentrates on macro-public issues and engagement *within* invited spaces of representative democracy, to a politics of *choice* that focuses on micro-personal issues and engagement *beyond* formal procedures and systems. She specifies these changes in terms of "repertoires" and "agencies" of political activism (ibid.).

The term repertoires relates to the various ways in which citizens participate in political activities. Norris (2003, p.2-6) explains that in the previous, industrial society, political action mainly aimed to influence the formal decision-making process of representative democracy. *Citizen-oriented* repertoires such as voting, political party membership, and formal contact activities were the main mechanisms of participation. In comparison, the *New Politics* embodies more *cause-oriented* repertoires which focus on 'single-issue' politics and political movements: e.g. around lifestyle, health and wellbeing of individuals, environmental concerns, gender issues, sexuality, race and ethnicity. Pivotal to cause-oriented political action is the broader conception of the political. Hence, the public domains of the *New Politics* are fundamentally inseparable from the intimate private domains.

Furthermore, the *New Politics* involves extended agencies of political action that are "the organizational structures through which people commonly mobilise for political expression" (Norris, 2003, p.6). Traditionally, people join formal, *mass-oriented* organisations such as political parties, trade unions and cooperative associations, whose characteristics include exclusive membership, hierarchical organisational structures and involvement by formal decision-making processes as their primary objective. In contrast, as epitomised by a wide range of New Social Movements (NSMs) (Picardo,

1997; Juris & Pleyers, 2009; Kaldor *et al.*, 2012), the agencies of the *New Politics* tend to adopt a very different approach which requires a sense of belonging, a shared identity and collective responsibilities, as a source of political action rather than formal membership status. Therefore, it adopts a more horizontal organisational structure rather than a vertical one and aspires to flexible and creative forms of political participation ‘outside’ formal political processes. Many critics note that young people are naturally inclined to the *New Politics* as they believe its fundamentally intimate and informal nature offers them real ‘choices’ to express their own concerns, values and issues (Kimberlee, 2002; Feixa, Pereira & Juris, 2009; Costanza-Chock, 2012). This growing body of literature highlights that there has been a significant increase in youth activism during the past few decades, especially in relation to NSMs and emerging “subterranean” political movements (Kaldor *et al.*, 2012).

According to Feixa, Pereira and Juris (2009), ‘new’ (types) of NSMs and other grassroots movements such as the anti-globalisation protests are examples of activism which contest the dominant claim of ‘youth deficit’. Instead, young people *are* actively engaged in social, cultural and political participation through a more flexible, informal range of activities *on the street*, rather than inside the voting booth. Recognising this extended nature of the political and political action is imperative in order to understand, and aspire to further, the social and political engagement of young people, who are citizens of ‘the here and now’ society (Kimberlee 1998; 2002; Smith *et al.*, 2005; Banaji, 2008; Percy-Smith, 2010).

Henrik Bang’s idea of new citizen identities, such as “expert citizens” and “everyday makers” is important to contemporary young people’s activism. For Bang (2005; 2009), citizens are not apathetic, but are alienated from formal mainstream politics because it does not allow them to express their views and opinions. As a result of this, their political participation is more likely to occur ‘on their own terms’ by employing informal communicative strategies and other means of democratic deliberation in their everyday lives that are *neither* legitimating, i.e. “consenting to state domination” *nor* oppositional, i.e. “struggling against state domination” (Bang, 2005, p.169). He argues that, uncoupled from traditional state-individual relations, these

new types of political participation, which rely on self-reflexivity, self-actualisation and grassroots-level activism, have replaced the (old) formal model of political participation. The detailed characteristics of what Bang defines as “a new project-oriented kind of participation” include:

- The political is growing increasingly personal and self-reflexive;
- Civil engagement is couched increasingly in political networks rather than positioned against a hierarchy;
- Participation is becoming structured around the choice of whether and when one will ‘engage’ in and ‘disengage’ from, a given context;
- The desire and perception of necessity together drive the sense of engagement;
- Ethics, personal integrity and mutual confidence appear as central elements in political life (Bang, 2005, p.164)

Bang also acknowledges Giddens’ (1991) idea of late modernity and its focus on actualisation of the reflexive self as a crucial context which steers fundamental changes in both the political identity of individuals and the nature of politics: from democratic *government* to democratic *governance* (Bang and Sorensen, 1999). Hence, ordinary citizens are equipped with personal and collective capacities for self- and co-governance. The state’s primary role is to provide “an open and non-coercive form of strategic communication that enters into cooperation and dialogue with people in their different ‘lifeworlds’, in order to enable them to help in governance by governing themselves” (Bang, 2005, p.174). For Bang, it is through this kind of new political rule of “culture governance” that new citizen identities, expert citizens and everyday makers are born and thrive (ibid.).

The expert citizens demand “functional necessity for a new kind of pluralist, interactive, communicative and flatly-organised political authority of the emerging information society” (Bang, 2005, p.161). They are what Hirst (1994; 2002 cited in Bang, 2005, p.163) describes as “the new professionals in voluntary associations, who feel they can do politics and make and implement policies quite as competently as the ‘old’ politicians and the

corporatist systems". Bang describes the distinct characteristics of expert citizens, including:

- having a wide conception of the political as a discursive construct;
- adopting a full-time, overlapping project identity as one's overall lifestyle;
- possessing the necessary expertise for exercising influence in cooperation with other elites;
- placing negotiation and dialogue before antagonism and opposition
- considering oneself as part of 'the system' rather than external to it. (ibid., p.164)

Members of Youth Parliaments (e.g. the Scottish Youth Parliament and the European Youth Parliament) and those who join formal policy-making processes through consultations or online surveys may be good examples of young people acting as expert citizens.

According to Bang (2005), expert citizens' exercise of politics entails "a fusion of representation and participation in and through *strategic forms of communication*, where it is necessary to make one's expertise felt discursively upon the conduct of others... [and] this discursive strategic capacity is developed in the various governance networks and partnerships in which they engage, in cooperation with politicians, administrators, interest groups and the media" (p.165, my emphasis). For this, expert citizens possess what Bang refers to as "a networking consciousness" — *which* organisations and professionals are responsible for *what* — that aims at neither "legitimizing (consenting to state domination) [nor merely] oppositional (struggling against state domination)" (ibid., p.169). Instead, they simply seek "gaining *access* to the bargaining processes which go on between public authorities and various experts from private and voluntary organisations" in order to maximise the advantages of their participation (ibid.). Expert citizens use their professional skills and experiences as a resource for democratic governance. Hence their language largely emulates the 'old' elites. For Bang, this presents a dilemma which he refers to as "republican elitism" wherein



“participation, deliberation and public reason become the prerogative of a new ‘creative class’”: that is, the everyday makers (ibid., p.166).

The everyday makers are essentially an ‘organic’ response of ordinary citizens to the professionalised identity of expert citizens “whom they confront in nearly all the institutions, networks and projects that they traverse in their everyday lives” (Bang, 2009, p.131). Everyday makers have minimal interests in engagement with the ‘big’ (state-led) politics or policy-making. Yet, they are neither apathetic nor disengaged; rather, they simply “do not feel defined by the state... [and] do not want to spend their precious time participating in formal political institutions” (Bang, 2005, p.167) They therefore usually operate within ‘small’ political repertoires and agencies: i.e., personal-micro level activities and actions. In this perspective, their political participation is typically of “a ‘roll on-roll off’ nature” (ibid., p.169) as well as about thinking globally and acting locally (ibid., p.167).

To some extent, everyday makers’ political identity shares some similar characteristics with expert citizens, in that their actions are neither legitimating nor oppositional. However, unlike expert citizens, everyday makers do not wish to be full-time, professional activists, nor do they regard themselves as being disengaged or alienated (ibid., 169). Everyday makers are more likely to participate in “much more fluid, opaque, non-planned and impulsive activities than old models of participation and strategic communications... [and] consider their lay knowledge embodied in their activities”. (ibid.) In other words everyday makers are about:

- do it yourself;
- do it where you are;
- do it for fun, but also because you find it necessary;
- do it ad hoc or part time;
- do it concretely, instead of ideologically;
- do it self-confidently and show trust in yourself. (Bang, 2005, p.169)

Young grassroots activists such as Plane Stupid protesters ([www.planestupid.com](http://www.planestupid.com), 2014) or the Glasgow Girls (Scottish Refugee Council, 2014) as well as numerous lay young people who irregularly, but repeatedly, offer help in their neighbourhoods, as volunteers in local community projects, or simply organise self-activities at home such as growing garden vegetables or purchasing fair-trade products may be examples of young people acting as everyday makers.

Bang (2005) notes that although the focus is on participation *outside* formal politics, this does not mean that everyday makers are not interested in 'big' issues. Rather, they think that politics should not be at distance (e.g. parliamentary activities and elite networks), but more "close range" so they are able to personalise macro issues and politicise micro issues, thus developing self "as a reflective being with a sense of commonality" (p.168). Everyday makers are another version of 'political being' whose identity does not rely on a formal membership given by the state or entitled rights and responsibilities, but living *with* and *in* democracy. Recognition of these new political identities entails significant implications for wider debates on democracy and democratic culture, especially in regard to Robert Putnam's idea of 'social capital' and good citizens as pillars of democracy (Putnam, 1995; 2000).

Bang fundamentally challenges Putnam's view in connection with the emergence of new political identities which operate *outside* formal procedures and systems of democracy. In his view, Putnam is wrong "in his description of individualised politics as involving a decline in political interests and involvement as such" (Bang, 2005, p.170). Neither expert citizens nor everyday makers fit into the old politics of loyalties, partisan memberships and parliamentary activities; instead, "their strategies and tactics of involvement reveal a practical alternative to Putnam's conceptual strategy for combining 'strong government' and 'thick community'" (ibid. p.172), by reclaiming the political outside the state, in community or civil society in everyday activities and micro-level activism. In other words, their participation and non-participation in the formal politics of representative

democracy is a 'strategic' choice to influence and enhance personal and collective capacities for self-governance and co-governance.

Resonating with the above, Shaw and Crowther (2013) argue that 'strategic non-participation' is an essential mechanism of democratic participation to make meaningful and effective demands for progressive social change. They note that participation within invited spaces, and spaces offered and mediated by the state, is not always productive, as "democratic participation will always be circumscribed by those powerful forces and interests that rely on conformity" (ibid., p.14). In such cases, a strategy of non-participation may be useful as it relies on "the 'invented' or 'claimed' spaces of politics in society, where people can collectively articulate their concerns and desires in political terms" (ibid.). While some exceptional radical practices do exist, many critics (e.g. Banaji, 2008; Percy-Smith, 2010; Tisdall, 2013) note that spaces for young people's participation usually adopt the characteristics of invited spaces rather than invented or claimed ones.

For instance, in studying various youth forums, organisations and participation networks in the UK, Percy-Smith (2010) found several problems with young people's participation, such as a narrow focus on formal arenas of participation *within* the representative model of democracy such as policy consultation or a voice in decision-making, and a tension between adult agendas and young people's own agendas, that is, participation without empowerment. From this perspective, Bang's idea of expert citizens and everyday makers may be useful for renegotiating and reformulating the norms and structure of young people's participation. These new types of citizens demand and open up alternative spaces for participation *within* individuals' practical life worlds, fundamentally challenging the prevailing ideas of participation.

In many ways, young people seem to possess a new political identity which can be expressed in the term of everyday makers. Authors such as Roker, Player & Coleman (1999), Fyfe (2003), Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2004), Eurofound (2012) and Sloam (2013) have found that, although young

people’s membership of political parties has declined over the past decade, the membership of non-governmental organisations and single-issue agencies (e.g. the Amnesty International Youth Section, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth) has increased significantly. Others observe that young people are also engaged with macro political issues, including education, health, national security, transportation, immigration, gender and disability (Carnegie UK Trust, 2010; Scotland’s Commissioner for Children and Young People, 2011; UK Youth Parliament, 2011; Park *et al.* 2013).

Figure 2.2 below outlines this generational remodelling, from the old realm of politics of loyalties to the new realm of politics of choice, where the personal is intimately connected to the political.

**Figure 2.2: Typology of old and new political activism**

		REPERTOIRES	
		CITIZEN-ORIENTED REPERTORIES (e.g. voting, party work and formal contact activity)	CAUSE-ORIENTED REPERTOIRES (e.g. single-issue politics, identity politics, life politics)
AGENCIES	MASS-ORIENTED, VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS (e.g. political parties, trade unions and cooperative associations)	<i>Politics of Loyalties</i>  <i>Previous generation</i>	
	SELF-ORIENTED EVERYDAY MAKING (e.g. New Social Movements, subterranean politics and alter-activism, community activities)		<i>Politics of Choice</i>  <i>Contemporary youth</i>

(Adapted from Norris, 2003; Bang, 2005)

Young people’s online activism is perhaps another example which reflects their distinctive political identity and action. Studies of the creative use of new technologies, such as the Internet, digital media and social networks, set young people apart from other generations (Livingstone, Bober & Helsper, 2004; Gibson, Lusoli & Ward, 2005). For instance, Harris, Wyn and Younes (2010) found an emergent form of (sub)cultural participatory practice using the Internet amongst Australian youth who are deeply disenchanted with the unresponsive formal political systems and structures. However, they remain interested and engaged in social and political issues, constantly seeking more effective ways to make their voice heard and influence decision-making

processes. Yet, their participation, far from an anti-state discourse, employs more informal, lifeworld-based actions and activities such as discussions on important issues or making social and political statements online. The Internet played a crucial role in this by creating alternative spaces for young people to share, communicate, learn, discuss and make claims about different social and political issues in various communities, some more immediate and others more distant.

Nonetheless, the dominant deficit view that is mainly reported in the media is on the negative aspects of young people today, e.g. juvenile crime, anti-social behaviour, teenage pregnancy, drug and alcohol abuse and increasingly youth unemployment. For instance, Cunningham and Lavalette (2004) highlight conflicting media reports on student protest against the Iraq War in 2003 as 'active citizens' versus 'irresponsible truants'. Many note that such a deficit understanding further alienates young people from the rest of society (Jones & Wallace, 1992; Cushion, 2007; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; YouthLink Scotland, 2010).

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I explored the theoretical literature about three traditions of citizenship, i.e. classic liberalism, neoliberalism and civic republicanism, that affect the meaning of young people's citizenship and their participation in politics and society. Importantly, an understanding of young people's citizenship requires a broad perspective which encompasses both a traditional view of citizenship as a legal status, with a universal entitlement to rights and responsibilities, and an emerging view of citizenship as social, cultural and political practice with a focus on participation in public life and the right to have rights, for the empowerment of marginalised groups of people.

Acknowledgement of the latter view is particularly important in order to understand the new political identity of 'everyday makers' that many contemporary young citizens are associated with. The nature of their political participation essentially operates *outside* domains of formal politics and formal political participation by adopting self-oriented micro activism at a personal level with a focus on issues of life politics, such as lifestyle, wellbeing and environmental concerns. Despite the growing evidence of young people's activism in the UK and across the world, what is more dominant in policy-making is a traditional notion of 'youth deficit' in relation to claims of a supposedly prevailing culture of apathy and disengagement amongst young people. Therefore, young people need education for citizenship.

In contrast, many critics emphasise that a broadened conception of the political and political participation is key to understanding and further promoting young people's social and political agency. Central to this argument is that what we need is perhaps a better democracy, rather than education to make better citizens, that acknowledges and includes young people as engaged citizens, rather than citizens in the making. In the next chapter, a select review of the relevant literature on education for citizenship is undertaken. Along with this chapter it will help inform a framework for thinking about education and learning for citizenship which will be applied in this study.

## Chapter 3

# Rethinking Education for Citizenship

### Introduction

This chapter consists of three parts. Firstly, it reviews the literature on education for citizenship in the past two decades. It identifies central themes within the research and the implications of the findings for policy development, as well as gaps in existing evidence. This literature has been influential in framing the overarching aims and objectives of this research project. Secondly, it engages critically with the literature on different models of education for citizenship, in both formal and informal settings, which provides the cornerstone of the conceptual framework underlying this research. Thirdly, it outlines the key characteristics of different approaches to education for citizenship on the basis of distinctive ideological and pedagogical aims of citizenship learning, as well as different levels of

participation. This framework is used in subsequent chapters to analyse the data that was collected.

## **Revisiting research on education for citizenship**

Although the resurgence of interest in education for citizenship is a relatively recent phenomenon in current official policy-making (Davies, 1999; Osler & Starkey, 2006; Lawy & Biesta, 2006), education for citizenship is by no means a new idea. Concern for preparing the young for public participation in the life of the democratic community can be dated back to the education system of the ancient Athenian *polis*. For Aristotle, a human being was “by nature, *homo politicus*, whose being was constituted and affirmed through political activity” which entailed both ruling and being ruled (Carr, 1991, p.375). In this sense, education for citizenship in ancient Greece encompassed “teaching the knowledge and skills required both for the active role of ‘ruling’, such as the skills of public debate, and for the passive role of ‘being ruled’, such as a knowledge of why it was important to be obedient to the law of the state” (ibid.)

The relationship between education and democracy is also at the heart of the writing of American philosopher, John Dewey (1916), whose vision of education essentially included “social necessity” (p.8). Dewey argues that, as far as Europe was concerned, from the eighteenth century onwards, states began to recognise education as “the best means of recovering and maintaining their political integrity and power” in relation to the role it played in creating common national identity and shared values between members of the various, newly developing modern nation-states (ibid., p.89). Therefore, “to form the citizen, not the ‘man’, became the aim of education” (ibid.).

Whilst the importance of education for citizenship has been recognised for centuries, it was not until the 1960s that researchers (primarily from political



and social science) began systematic investigations into the process by which young people acquire civic and political knowledge and understanding (see Hahn, 1998). The central focus of these early studies was on examining the impacts of different agents of socialisation, e.g. family, school, peer group, community and the media, on young people. But, by the mid-1980s, “interest had waned to the extent that one scholar decried ‘a bear market’ in political socialization research” (Cook, 1985 in Hahn, 2002, p.158). Since the 1990s, there has been a resurgence of interest in youth political socialisation and political engagement. This is largely connected to the implementation of citizenship in the national curriculum, often as part of (re-) consolidating democracy across many nation states.

## **Synthesising research on education for citizenship**

Education for citizenship is a fairly “new and developing area of growing importance at national, European and international levels with much scope for research” (Kerr, 2010, p.215). The focus of research in citizenship has been heavily influenced by the overall context of a renewed interest in education for citizenship nationally and internationally over the past twenty years. I present the review of this literature with consideration of an international, European and UK/Scottish context. It is important to note that my intention here is by no means to provide an exhaustive overview of literature, but a highly selective account relevant to my research project. Table 3.1 below outlines general information regarding the key characteristics of each study reviewed.

**Table 3.1: Overview of research on education for citizenship**

Level	Title of the study	Year of publication	Contracting or Financing body	Area and countries involved	Nature of the study
International	IEA 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED)	2001	IEA	28 countries including England, but not Scotland	International comparative study on education for citizenship as well as civic knowledge, skills, attitudes and engagement of young people
	The International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) 2009	2010	IEA	38 countries including England, but not Scotland	International comparative study of education for citizenship and the civic knowledge, skills, attitudes and engagement of young people as well as a comparison of the data with the previous (CIVED) study
European	All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies	2004	The Council of Europe	Member states of the European Union, including England and Scotland, and other European states	Analysis of national policies and formal curricular approaches to education or democratic citizenship in each country
	The Impact of Education on Active Citizenship	2008	The European Commission	19 European countries including the UK	Comparative analysis of the impact of formal education on students' active citizenship behaviour and civic competence
	ICCS 2009 European Report	2010	IEA	24 European countries including England, but not Scotland	Study of young people's civic knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours in relation to European issues, institutions and policies
	Citizenship Education in Europe (Eurydice)	2012	The European Commission	31 Eurydice Network countries including England, Scotland, Wales and N. Ireland	Analysis of the national curricular approach to education for citizenship in primary and secondary education
National (UK and Scotland)	Education for Democratic Citizenship (Osler & Starkey)	2006	British Educational Research Association (BERA)	UK with the main focus on England	Literature review on research, policy and practice of education for democratic citizenship in the UK between 1995-2005
	Citizenship Education in the UK (Andrews & Mycock)	2007	N/A	England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales	Study on divergent approaches and attitudes towards citizenship education in each home nation and challenges for the future of citizenship education in the UK as a multi-national state
	Citizens in Transition (CiT) in England, Wales and Scotland (Sturman <i>et al.</i> )	2012	National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER)	England, Wales and Scotland	A follow-up study to the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) which focuses on citizenship understanding, attitudes and behaviours of cross-national groups of young adults (age between 18-25) who have been exposed and not exposed to a statutory citizenship education curriculum

### ***International level***

The primary focus is on a cross-national comparison of young people's political literacy and attitudes as well as their experiences of citizenship learning in classrooms, schools and communities. The main purpose of these studies is to provide a strong evidence base to inform policy-makers and practitioners. This is reflected in the two leading studies undertaken by The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) which are discussed below.

**The 1999 Civic Education Study (CIVED)** (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001) was conducted between 1996 and 2002 and involved 28 countries including England (but not Scotland), 24 of which were European. The primary impetus for studying education for citizenship in the early 1990s came from a shift in the political landscape resulting from: (a) the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the emergence of new democracies in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s; and (b) the concern about the decline of political interest and engagement amongst young people in the old democratic countries in Western Europe. Drawing on these ongoing social and political changes, the main focus of the CIVED study was the impact of education for citizenship on developing the knowledge, values and attitudes necessary to promote and maintain (western) liberal democracy and its institutions (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001).

The study found that all participating countries had formal educational courses or programmes for citizenship with a variety of titles and approaches; but in many, citizenship courses and programmes did not have a high status. In most countries, the central focus of formal citizenship learning was on developing pupils' political literacy, or what is defined as "civic knowledge", which primarily considers cognitive understanding and the skills of statesmanship, such as knowledge about democratic institutions, principles and formal decision-making processes. There were, however, substantial gaps between what schools were trying to foster and what pupils actually believed. In general, pupils showed a disdain for formal politics.

Many of them did not think traditional (formal) political participation was important, except for voting. In addition, while pupils were more open to non-traditional forms of civic and political participation, such as charity work, volunteering and taking part in non-violent political rallies, only a small minority would be willing to participate in illegal political activities, such as blocking traffic or occupying buildings. The role of schools in preparing pupils for citizenship was recognised as important. It was, however, students' characteristics (such as socioeconomic status) as well as the family and home environment (parental income, educational attainment and home literacy resources such as books) that had the most significant impacts on pupils' political knowledge and attitudes in nearly all countries, including England.

**The International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) 2009** (Schulz *et al.*, 2010) took place between 2008 and 2009 and involved 38 countries, including England and 23 other European member states, 21 of which took part in the previous CIVED study in 1999. Again, Scotland was not part of this research project. The primary impetus of this study is rooted in what Kerr (1999, p.2) refers to as "the millennium effect", associated with the changing social and political conditions of the twenty-first century as a result of globalisation. Schulz *et al* (2010) summarise the markers of these changes as the following:

- *"Changes in the external threats to civil societies: increases in terrorist attacks and debates about the responses civil societies should take have resulted in greater importance being attached to civic and citizenship education;*
- *Migration of people within and across continents and countries: this development is challenging notions of identity and increasing social and community cohesion in society;*
- *People, in many countries, according greater value to democracy as a system of government: at the same time, however, social and economic inequalities are threatening the functioning of democratic governments;*
- *An increase in the importance of non-governmental groups serving as vehicles through which active citizenship can be exercised: new forms of social participation serve a variety of different purposes, ranging from religious matters to protection of human rights and protection of the environment;*

- *Ongoing modernisation and globalisation of societies*: this has been accompanied by more universal access to new media, increasing consumer consumption, and transformation of societal structures (individualism)" (Schulz *et al.*, 2010, pp.13-4).

These combined changes present fresh challenges for education for citizenship in many democratic countries. Firstly, the traditional conception of citizenship, which primarily focuses on formal membership of a nation-state and mono-cultural identity, is no longer adequate for today's globalised, multicultural society (Held, 1995; Kymlicka, 2001; Heater, 2006). Therefore, citizenship should be reconceptualised to include a broader sense of social, cultural and political practice that transcends the limitations of national boundaries (Delanty, 2000; Lister, 2007a). Secondly, education for citizenship should reflect this by expanding its remit from teaching "knowledge and understanding of formal institutions and process of civic life (such as voting in elections)" to initiating "opportunities for participation and engagement in both civic and civil society<sup>2</sup>" (Schulz *et al.*, 2010, p.22). Recognising these challenges, the ICCS study investigates different ways in which countries prepare their young people to undertake their role as citizens and the extent to which national characteristics, as well as traditional political socialisation factors (e.g. student characteristics, school and community contexts), affect young people's learning of civics and citizenship. In addition, in order to provide insights into specific trends in Asia, Latin America and Europe, the ICCS study also involved three regional reports as well as national and supra-national reports.

While the background of the ICCS study is dissimilar to that of the 1999 CIVED study, there are indeed many overlaps between the two in terms of the nature of the methodology, i.e. cross-national analysis with a focus on the civic knowledge of pupils as well as their interest and attitudes towards

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<sup>2</sup> According to Schulz *et al.* (2010, p.14), "*civil society* refers to the sphere of society in which connections among people are at a level larger than that of the extended family which does not include connections to the state", whereas "*civic society* refers to any community in which connections among people are at a level larger than that of the extended family (including the state). *Civic* also refers to the principles, mechanisms, and processes of decision-making, participation, governance, and legislative control that exist in these communities" (original emphasis).

democratic principles and public life, and their involvement in civic and political participation.

Key findings of the study include: firstly, although “very few of the participating students were attending schools where principals reported no provision for civic and citizenship education... [However,] the development of active participation was not among the objectives that teachers or school principals in any of the participating countries most frequently cited as the most important” (Schulz *et al.*, 2010, p.15). Instead, the focus was more upon fostering ‘civic knowledge’ by learning traditional civics and formal political literacy. Learning to be governed rather than learning to govern is assumed as the central purpose of provision. From this perspective, it is perhaps not surprising to observe that “active civic participation in the wider community was relatively uncommon amongst the students; civic participation at school was considerably more common” (ibid.,p.18). Furthermore, “large majorities of students said they intended to vote in national elections once they reached adulthood, but only minorities expected to become politically active” (ibid.).

Interestingly, “after controlling for other factors, [the study] found that the students who said they would become more actively involved in politics once they were adults tended to be the students with lower levels of civic knowledge”, for example those in Latin American countries (Schulz *et al.*, 2010, p.258). In contrast, despite the higher level of civic knowledge and above-average scores for trust in their civic institutions, students in Northern European countries, “tended to have a lower level of interest in political and social issues as well as lower levels of internal political efficacy, citizenship self-efficacy and expectation with regard to future involvement in protest activities” (ibid.). While the study recommends a further exploration of this matter, it notes that, “what we can see here is that experiencing democratic practices and activities at school will not necessarily translate into conventional active political engagement in adulthood”.

Secondly, the study found “most ICCS students endorsed democratic values... [and] agreed with a number of fundamental democratic rights as

well as with the importance of a great number of the conventional and social-movement-related behaviours that are considered to support good citizenship” (Schulz *et al.*, 2010, p.17). Yet, there was evidence which suggests a growing disenchantment with traditional mass-oriented political organisations (e.g. political parties and trade union) and formal political participation amongst youth in many democratic countries across the world. For instance, the study found that “political parties were typically the institution least trusted... [and] majorities of students did not express any preference for a particular political party” in many countries (ibid., p.19). Meanwhile, these students expressed their widespread preparedness to become involved in legal protest activities, but only “few of them considered that they would engage in illegal activities such as blocking traffic or occupying buildings” (ibid.). Although the study does not offer any further clarification on these results, it mentions that in most countries, school-based student participation in the wider community mainly entailed involvement in sports and cultural activities. Whilst these activities may help students build relationships and trust, it is important to note that they are not inherently about democracy, which requires active dissent and the knowledge and skills to *govern* rather than to *be governed*. It seems that the construction of a depoliticised and non-democratic, ‘common sense’ approach to civic and citizenship education is uniform across different countries, reducing education for citizenship to learning to take on a passive role, and thereby legitimating democratic practices to maintain the *status quo* rather than critically rethinking and challenging this.

Thirdly, civic knowledge was largely associated with students’ personal and social backgrounds (e.g. socioeconomic status, gender, immigration background). In general, more females than males, students from non-immigrant backgrounds rather than those from immigrant backgrounds and students whose parents had higher-status occupations, higher educational qualifications and whose homes had a larger number of books gained a higher level of civic knowledge (Schulz *et al.*, 2011, p.252). Whilst gender differences tend to be consistent across many ICCS countries, differences related to socioeconomic and immigrant backgrounds vary from country to

country, and are relatively small compared to students' personal and social background factors. Furthermore, when the socioeconomic composition of the school was controlled, the study found no strong association between civic knowledge and school-level variables. Nevertheless, there was evidence of a positive influence of formal citizenship learning in terms of voting but "it had no apparent influence on students' expectations to engage in more active political behaviour, such as working in political organizations or on political campaigns" (ibid.). Meanwhile, previous or current participation in the wider community (e.g. volunteering, community-based service work and joining environmental organisations) was a positive predictor of expected active participation (ibid., pp.129-34). "These findings suggest school experiences positively influence basic political engagement but not more active involvement in forms of conventional civic-related participation" (ibid., p.257).

Although Scotland was not included in these studies, both CIVED and ICCS have several crucial implications for this research project. Above all, the findings of these studies provide valuable insights into the overall trends in education for citizenship from the late 1980s up to the early 2000s. It shows that education for citizenship, on the one hand, is a policy response to the changing nature of citizenship related to ongoing social and political changes in national, regional and international contexts at a given time (e.g. the democratisation movement in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s and globalisation in the late 1990s and early 2000s). On the other hand, however, education for citizenship is a policy fix for specific 'youth' problems such as apathy and disengagement from mainstream politics, especially voting. Here, the problem of political participation and democratic legitimacy is located in the hearts and minds of young people, rather than how politics works and how it might systematically exclude and alienate young people.

Each study also involves significant contributions to the theoretical framework of research on education for citizenship. For example, the CIVED study offers what it refers to as the 'octagon model', which visualises the



process of youth political socialisation (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001). As discussed in Chapter 2 (page 42), this model represents the young person, at the centre of the octagon, as a reflexive agent who actively negotiates and shapes his or her unique experiences and development of citizenship identity and agency in relation to various factors in the wider environment. The octagon model is at the centre of the conceptual framework underlying the ICCS study but it extends the original scope of the model in that it highlights the multi-layered influences of socialisation factors (e.g. home, classroom and school context, local community and broader society) as they relate to the life of each young person and the outcomes of his or her citizenship learning (Schulz *et al.*, 2010). It also separates “the historical background that affects how learning is provided” (e.g. the educational system and political history and culture) from ‘processes’ which “contemporaneously shape civic and citizenship education” (e.g. current educational policies, national curriculum and political events) (ibid., p.28). This distinction was useful in the findings of the ICCS study, which examines the actual extent to which formal citizenship learning affects the political socialisation of young people compared to other, more traditional factors.

Translating the conceptual framework or findings of the CIVED and ICCS studies directly into the Scottish context is difficult. Firstly, and most obviously, accounts of Scottish young people are excluded from these studies. Although there may be some overlaps between the experience of English and Scottish youth, differences in the ways that education for citizenship is constructed in each nation should not be taken for granted. As the section below will demonstrate, similar and dissimilar experiences of citizenship learning amongst the four home nations (England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales) have been central subjects of many studies at the national (UK and Scottish) level. The distinctive Scottish development of education for citizenship will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

Secondly, the main focus of these studies is to measure the level of formal political literacy (or ‘civic knowledge’) and its influence on formal political participation, particularly voting. Therefore, it offers little knowledge about

young people's lived experience of social engagement and political activism *outside* of mainstream politics.

Thirdly, whilst the octagon model is a useful tool for conceptualising the political socialisation process, it also foregrounds a dominant youth deficit model, which assumes that the problem is located within 'young people' lacking citizenship and engagement rather than within the larger political systems and educational institutions that do not always reflect on the capacities, interests and experiences of young people as critically engaged citizens. A narrow approach to education for citizenship, which presupposes that political processes and procedures need to be learned rather than changed, should be seen as a 'cause' of apathy and disengagement, of the so-called 'youth problem', rather than a 'solution'. My research seeks to address these gaps and the tensions between what is taught in the name of 'good' citizenship and what young people desire to learn *for* democracy in order to bring about constructive social change.

The previous section outlined the key issues, trends and critiques of existing studies and their findings at an international level which are of relevance to this research project. The following section identifies relevant concerns at a European level.

### ***European level***

At the Lisbon summit in 2000, the leaders of the European Union member states set out a number of common priorities for the education and training system, widely known as the Lisbon Strategy. This was established in order to respond to the demands of a knowledge-based economy and the increasing social and cultural challenges confronting European society in a globalised world (Education Council, 2001). They identified three general aims of education which include:

- “the development of the individual, who can thus realise his or her full potential and live a good life;
- the development of society, in particular by fostering democracy, reducing the disparities and inequities among individuals and groups and promoting cultural diversity; [and]
- the development of the economy, by ensuring that the skills of the labour force correspond to the economic and technological evolution” (Education Council, 2001).

In order to achieve these goals, investment in human resources, especially active citizenship and active citizenship education, was regarded as being at the heart of the Lisbon Strategy. The promotion of active citizenship was seen as beneficial for *social cohesion* as well as *employability* because “both depend upon people having adequate and up-to-date knowledge and skills to take part in and make a contribution to economic and social life throughout their lives” (Education Council, 2001). As a consequence, various active citizenship programmes and projects were introduced in both schools and community-based educational opportunities: e.g. the *Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) Programme*, the *Community Action Programme* and the *EU Youth Strategy 2010-2018* which have as their main objectives fostering active citizenship, social inclusion and solidarity, amongst all European youth. European studies on education for citizenship are directly linked to a wider policy context, developed in connection with the Lisbon Strategy. The section below summarises four examples of research at European level: *All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies* (Birzea *et al.*, 2004), *Study on the Impact of Education on Active Citizenship* (Hoskins, d’Hombres & Campbell, 2008), *ICCS 2009 European Report* (Kerr *et al.*, 2010) and *Citizenship Education in Europe* (Eurydice, 2012).

**The All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) Policies** (Birzea *et al.*, 2004), was initiated by the Council of Europe in 2002 in order to map out the national policies on EDC across Europe and to share the findings for the benefit of policy-makers, researchers, practitioners and other stakeholders of EDC policies. This included identifying the current policies on EDC in all European countries, including Scotland and other nations in

the UK, mapping the concrete measures taken by governments to ensure the effective implementation of these policies, and collecting the views of a sample of practitioners and stakeholders on the implementation of EDC policies in the countries concerned. Birzea *et al.*, (2004) offers a detailed synthesis of EDC policies at national, regional and all-European levels.

The key findings of the study include that: firstly, EDC in Scotland and other member states in Western Europe<sup>3</sup> is primarily driven by four specific problems. These are: *participation* in relation to concerns about young people's apathy and disengagement in public and political life, (i.e. a democratic deficit); *individualism* associated with the spread of consumerism and rising levels of anti-social behaviour and violence, particularly involving young people); *diversity* in connection with growing concerns about racism, discrimination and a lack of tolerance towards others, particularly regarding those from disadvantaged groups and with special needs; and *location* in terms of the challenge of the nation-state no longer being the traditional location of citizenship, and the emergence of transnational and supranational citizen identities, such as European and global citizenship (Kerr, 2004, p.75).

Secondly, since the 1990s, there has been a major shift in the approach to EDC from an emphasis on schools and the formal curriculum to broader, more active and participatory methods that involve both formal *and* informal (community-based) approaches (ibid., p.77). This present, broader approach, which is commonly referred to as 'citizenship education' in this region is "seen as vital in helping young people to understand and address pressing societal problems" mentioned above (ibid.).

Thirdly, for effective policy development and implementation of EDC, it identifies four main challenges that Western European countries face. These include:

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<sup>3</sup> The Western Europe region consists of ten member states - Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the four nations of the United Kingdom, i.e. England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (Kerr, 2004, p.73).

- The challenge of the gap between policy and practice which refers to the gap between the intended curriculum and what is actually taught by teachers, and what students actually learn (Kerr, 2004, p.80);
- The challenge of student participation in relation to the fact that “developments to promote EDC through increased participation in schools and society are very much in their infancy which means that there is still considerable work to do to ensure that effective and meaningful links are made between EDC in the formal, non-formal and hidden curriculum, for young people, teachers and school leaders” (ibid., 81);
- The challenge of teacher training in regard to “the evidence of EDC in teacher training across the member states in the Western Europe region [being] patchy” (ibid.); and
- The challenge of monitoring and quality assurance that is “a crucial area of weakness, or underdevelopment, in most member states in Western Europe... including research and evaluation” (ibid., p.82). The study further notes that “the evidence and research base from which to develop effective policy and practice is still sparse and partial [and] there is an urgent need to discover what works and why and to share this knowledge and understanding within and across countries in the region” (ibid.).

The study has crucial implications as it includes the earliest documented case studies on education for citizenship in Europe. Yet, its limitations include: firstly, in many countries, EDC was either just introduced or there were about to be major reforms in their approach during the time of data collection. As a result, the study does not offer any insight into how EDC is implemented in everyday practice or how it influences young people’s experience of citizenship learning and engagement. Secondly, the central focus of the study is the EDC policy development within schools and the formal curriculum. It therefore does not offer any understanding of citizenship education in an informal setting.

**The Study on the Impact of Education on Active Citizenship** (Hoskins, d’Hombres & Campbell, 2008) is one of the major outcomes of the Active Citizenship for Democracy research project, led by the Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning (CRELL) within the European Commission in order to explore the ways to create indicators on:

- *active citizenship* which is defined as “participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterised by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy” (Hoskins, 2006 cited in Hoskins, d’Hombres & Campbell, 2008, p.20); and
- *civic competence* which refers to civic knowledge, skills, attitudes and values (ibid., p.6).

One of the major tasks of the CRELL was to develop a set of coherent indicators and benchmarks to monitor the promotion of active citizenship in each EU member state, which is one of the Lisbon objectives. Its main output includes the creation of the Active Citizenship Composite Indicator, based on existing European Social Survey data, and the Civic Competence Composite Indicator based on the assessment tools and findings of the 1999 IEA CIVED study. As a result, what is referred to as “a theoretical model of active citizenship in a learning context” was developed. This presents “the ideal relationship, taking into account the background variables between learning inputs, civic competence and active citizenship” (Hoskins, d’Hombres & Campbell, 2008, p.6). The theory is that, “through formal education it is hypothesised that a person has the opportunity to develop the learning outcomes of civic competence, in particular ‘participatory attitudes, social justice values, citizenship values and cognition about democratic institutions’ that are expected to facilitate active citizenship” (Hoskins, d’Hombres & Campbell, 2008, p.6). What seems to be suggested here is an assumption of a democratic deficit located within individual citizens rather than in the democratic system itself, thus emphasising a need for educational opportunities to develop ‘active citizenship’, instead of problematising the limited nature of democracy as the problem to be transformed.

Despite its limitations, this theoretical model has become significantly influential in developing the Active Citizenship Composite Indicator (ACCI) which translates the impact of education on active citizenship behaviour into numerical values, calculated by a ‘scientific’ formula (see Hoskins, d’Hombres & Campbell, 2008, p.11). Empirical analysis using the ACCI has produced interesting findings about the relationship between formal

education and active citizenship behaviour in 19 European countries, including the UK. For example, Hoskins, d'Hombres and Campbell's investigation (2008) of the 2006 European Social Survey found that:

- in general, "formal education has a positive impact on active citizenship behaviour... More precisely... the number of years the respondent is in education positively and significantly correlates with an individuals' engagement in protest and social change activities, being a member of a political party and voting" (Hoskins, d'Hombres & Campbell, 2008, p.19)...;
- "on the one hand, [it was observed that] at the individual level education is strongly associated with active citizenship, on the other hand this relationship seems not to hold at the aggregated level" (ibid.). This resonates with findings from earlier studies, such as Campbell (2006) which have found that, despite the increase in educational levels in many European countries, levels of engagement have not increased (ibid.).

The ACCI and its empirical findings described above have crucial implications for research on education for citizenship. Whilst other educational settings (e.g. community-based practice) are acknowledged, the ACCI specifically focuses on the impact of formal education on active citizenship behaviour because it is "an important element of the learning experiences of the majority of people in Europe" (p.6). Yet, the findings indicate that a more educated population is *not* necessarily one that is more politically engaged. If this is indeed true, a taken-for-granted idea of the positive impacts of formal education on active citizenship may be subject to dispute, as the role of citizens in being actively engaged to rule seems to be still failing, even if they are well-educated about how to be ruled.

**The ICCS 2009 European Report** (Kerr *et al.*, 2010) is one of the three regional modules of the ICCS study, alongside the Latin American and Asian reports. The remit of the report entails a more detailed investigation into specific European issues related to civic and citizenship education in the 24 European countries, including England but not Scotland. More specifically, it focuses on studying students' civic knowledge in a European context as well as their interest and behaviours related to European citizenship and identity, intercultural relations in Europe, free movement of citizens in Europe,

European policies, institutions and participation, and European language learning (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, p.11). The key findings of the study include the following:

- “On average, a majority of students in European ICCS countries demonstrated knowledge of the basic facts about the EU and the Euro and Eurozone, [but] there was considerable variation in students’ knowledge of more detailed information about the EU and EU laws and policies. There is still, therefore a need to improve, within the context of civic and citizenship education, teaching about the EU;
- the majority of students in the European ICCS countries expressed positive attitudes towards intercultural relations and European language learning, and they gave strong support for equal rights for ethnic or racial groups and immigrants as well as for freedom of movement of citizens within Europe;
- a large majority of students said they intended to vote... in elections. However active citizenship with a European focus was generally low, with only a minority of students reporting involvement in activities and groups relating to Europe or other civic organizations in the wider community;
- according to the majority of school teachers and principals in the European ICCS countries, the most important focus of civic learning should primarily be on the development of knowledge and skills, and not so much on participatory skills or strategies to fight against racism and xenophobia; and
- school-based student participation in the wider community was largely focused on sports and cultural events, a finding which indicates that there is room for increasing the focus of civic and citizenship learning, so that it encompasses broader citizenship issues and community participation” (Kerr *et al.*, 2010, pp.146-7).

Besides the findings above, which identify specific issues and challenges pertinent to civic and citizenship education in the European context, the European ICCS Report has been influential with regard to a new standard, or what is termed the “European average”, which outlines expected levels of civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement in public and political life, and has become key in evaluating and assessing the effectiveness and impacts of civic and citizenship education in various European countries, including England.



**Citizenship Education in Europe** (Eurydice, 2012) provides a comprehensive overview of how citizenship is taught in schools in 31 of the Eurydice Network countries, including Scotland and other EU member states, Iceland, Norway Croatia and Turkey. Drawing on citizenship policies and programmes at a European level, such as the EDC project and the EU Youth Strategy 2010-2018, the central aim of the report is to “capture how policies and measures relating to citizenship education have evolved over recent years in European countries” including areas such as “curriculum aims, approaches and organisation; student and parent participation in school governance; school culture and student participation in society; student assessment, school evaluation and education system performance; [and] education, training and support for teachers and school heads” (Eurydice, 2012, p.8). Based on a comparative analysis of responses gathered through questionnaires developed by the Eurydice project itself on the above topics, as well as secondary data analysis of relevant quantitative data from the 2009 ICCS study, the report documents a comprehensive overview of curricular approaches to education for citizenship and other related concerns (e.g. teacher training and assessment framework) across 31 European countries.

Key findings of the study include the following:

- firstly, citizenship education is part of the national curricula in all 31 European countries, including Scotland, but its approach varies from country to country. For example, in Scotland, ‘responsible citizenship’ is mainly taught as a cross-curricular theme, as well as being included in other subjects or learning areas (e.g. ‘Health and Wellbeing’ which is the responsibility of all practitioners) rather than as a stand-alone subject, as in England and other countries (Eurydice, 2012, p.13);
- secondly, citizenship curricula in European countries encompass “a wide and very comprehensive range of topics ...[including] the fundamental principles of democratic societies, contemporary societal issues such as cultural diversity and sustainable development, as European and international dimensions” (ibid.). This point largely overlaps with findings from other European studies mentioned earlier;
- thirdly, the multi-dimensional nature of citizenship is at the centre of European countries’ curricula for citizenship which encompasses not only knowledge, skills, attitudes and values but also students’ active

participation in and outside school. As a result, students learn about citizenship not only in the classroom but also through informal learning, such as experience of the democratic culture of the school community as a whole and school-based student participation (e.g. pupil councils) as well as citizenship-related activities outside school. The report identifies that Scotland is one of the seven countries<sup>4</sup> where “official curricula stipulate that pupils and students must be offered practical experience outside the school context” (ibid., p.62). The most common examples of informal citizenship learning supported by national publicly-financed programmes include: “working with the local community, discovering and experiencing democratic participation in society and addressing topical issues such as environmental protection, and cooperation between generations and nations” (p.70). Yet, based on the results of the 2009 ICCS study (Schulz *et al.*, 2010), the report points out that in most countries, these curricular objectives are not often realised in practice. Instead, the most common forms of student participation were civic-related community activities, e.g. awareness raising campaigns and participation in activities related to the environment in the local area, while involvement in multicultural and intercultural activities within the local community and activities related to improving facilities for the local community were least commonly practised; and

- fourthly, resonating with other European studies mentioned above, the major challenges of citizenship education are primarily identified as the lack of assessment and evaluation. The report highlights that “as citizenship education is an integral part of the curriculum in all countries, appropriate evaluation tools and instruments need to be devised to ensure that this subject area, like others, is adequately assessed” (ibid., p.71). The report further emphasises that, in terms of social and civic competences, identified as key competences of education in Europe (Hoskins, d’Hombres & Campbell, 2008), “assessment focusing not only on the acquisition of subject knowledge but also on the development of skills and attitudes is required.

These findings indicate that, while the primary focus is on issues and challenges pertinent to the European context, many overlapping accounts are observed in the European and international reports of the ICCS study. For example, citizenship learning is broadly conceptualised which encompasses both the formal curriculum *and* community-based opportunities. What is seen here is a shift in emphasis towards the community as a site for learning the predetermined values of democratic citizenship, in terms of active and responsible citizen behaviour in order to *be governed*, rather than learning the development of capacities *to govern*. In addition, similar to international

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<sup>4</sup> Greece, Latvia, Poland, Finland, Iceland, Norway as well as Scotland

studies, research on education for citizenship in Europe is also largely policy-driven, in order to develop more effective and accountable policy development and implementation. As a result, it offers little knowledge about young people's lives as engaged citizens or their experiences of learning citizenship through direct involvement in 'uncensored' activities for social change and social justice. Lastly, whilst I agree that assessment has the potential to be a useful tool for effective policy making and implementation, the current emphasis on indicators such as 'civic knowledge', 'active citizen behaviour' and 'civic competence' may be inadequate in many ways.

The central focus of these indicators is on what it means to be a good democratic citizen, rather than about definitions of democratic politics. The distinction between 'good citizen' and 'ignorant citizen' is key here. The idea of the 'ignorant citizen', according to Biesta (2011c), is "the one who is ignorant of a particular definition of what he or she is supposed to be as a 'good citizen'. The ignorant citizen is the one who, in a sense, *refuses* this knowledge and, through this, refuses to be domesticated, refuses to be pinned down in a pre-determined civic identity" (p.152). Therefore, the experience of citizenship learning embodied in the idea of ignorant citizen is "an inherent dimension of the ongoing experiment of democratic politics" and entails a process of "subjectification", where citizenship norms are constantly challenged and re-imagined, rather than simply accepted and reproduced (ibid.). Assessment in the sense of meeting targets and measuring outcomes may be difficult or impossible because the process of learning is fundamentally open and undetermined. As the idea of the ignorant citizen suggests, Biesta argues, "there is nothing rational about democracy; [instead] it is driven by a desire for the particular mode of human togetherness that has developed over the centuries [of fights and struggles] and to which the name 'democracy' has been given" (ibid.). Any attempt to underpin and rationalise the relationship between citizenship, democracy and education may be seen as unproductive.

In this section, I examined the key themes, trends, findings and gaps in research on education for citizenship at a European level, which is primarily

driven by the Lisbon Strategy which emphasises that active citizenship is one of the priorities for educational reform in all European countries. The central purpose of research thus entails: investigating what and how citizenship is taught in schools in each European country, monitoring the progress made since the early 2000s and identifying the challenges of developing and implementing citizenship in schools in each country, as well as in Europe as a whole. I will now move on to critically examine research on education for citizenship at the national (Scottish and UK) level which will provide a more detailed understanding of the Scottish context upon which my study is built.

### ***National (Scottish and UK) level***

Research on education for citizenship in the UK has been primarily concentrated on the English context, largely associated with the policy initiative in the late 1990s and early 2000s to introduce citizenship into the national curriculum and community-based educational programmes. England has participated in both IEA studies and other research projects led by English national educational agencies and research centres, such as the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER). Scotland's involvement in these large scale, policy-driven research projects has been relatively limited as can be seen from the review so far. This section, therefore, focuses on academic literature and highlights the findings, trends and gaps for development of education for citizenship in Scotland, in particular. I review the relevant literature in accordance with three distinct types of studies: comparative research, literature reviews and empirical studies.

The central purpose of **comparative research** is to provide details of the policies and practices of education for citizenship in Scotland compared to those in other countries. As pointed out earlier, Scotland's involvement in the major international and European comparative studies has been limited which means that evidence which directly compares and contrasts the

Scottish experience to other countries is fairly limited. Nevertheless, a number of small-scale case studies, such as Andrews and Mycock (2007), offer an intra-UK comparative perspective.

The central focus of Andrews and Mycock's analysis (2007) is on studying the extent to which school-based citizenship education receives equal attention within the four UK home nations (England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales), the implications of different approaches to citizenship education as well as the challenges for the future of citizenship education in the UK as a whole. The main arguments of their analysis include:

- firstly, the resurgence of interest in education for citizenship in all four home nations during the 1990s and early 2000s shares similar roots: (a) the influence of communitarianism and Robert Putnam's thesis on the decline of 'social capital' (Putnam, 1995) introduced by New Labour; and (b) concerns on growing apathy and political disengagement amongst the young. (Andrew and Mycock, 2007, p.75)
- secondly, "the UK is now a devolved multi-national state with a diverse population. The divergent approaches to citizenship education in the home nations mirror aspects of this diversity and are representative of Britain's post-imperial constitutional framework and plurality of national identities" (Andrews & Mycock, 2007, p.84);
- thirdly, this wider multi-national context also plays "a crucial part in influencing concepts of citizenship and the political engagement of young people. As a result, there are profound questions about the commonality of overall purpose across the UK that cannot be ignored", particularly in regard to the idea of British identity or Britishness, immigration and multiculturalism (ibid.);
- fourthly, "current debates concerning citizenship and 'Britishness' primarily reflect post-imperial tensions within England... on the need to promote community cohesion within a multicultural society. Yet such concerns about diversity and integration lack similar intensity in [other home nations]. National calls for greater connectivity between history, identity and citizenship education... therefore continue to ignore the plurality of education provision in the UK... Moreover, Anglicised debates about British identity overlook growing pressure for greater emphasis on the national histories of the UK within schools, most particularly in Scotland" (ibid., pp.83-4);
- fifthly, in order to resolve these challenges and bring about "more equitable citizenship education within the UK's diverse national education systems and cultures", they highlight a need to develop a new curriculum that educates pupils to a uniform standard. "This does not necessarily mean that policy-makers should tightly prescribe

pedagogic approaches or curriculum content across a devolved education system, but indicates that joined-up thinking on how the challenges of citizenship education should be met is needed to ensure parity of provision and outcomes” (ibid., p.84).

As the findings above indicate, Andrews and Mycock’s analysis mainly concerns the idea of ‘national identity’ in relation to a new political landscape developed through devolution in the early 2000s as well as other social issues such as immigration and multiculturalism, driven by the free movement of people within the EU and immigration from non-European countries, and growing concerns about community cohesion and solidarity in relation to globalised, multicultural British society.

The main purpose of **literature reviews** is to provide an overview of the theories, policies and research evidence concerning various aspects of education for citizenship, such as contextual factors of education for citizenship policies and practices as well as the key themes, findings and gaps in research on education for citizenship. Osler and Starkey (2006) is a good example of this.

Osler and Starkey (2006)’s paper was commissioned by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and reviews education for democratic citizenship in the UK between 1995 and 2005, with a focus on the key policy context (both at national and international level), the approaches and themes of democratic citizenship learning at school, and agendas for future research. It is important to note that, in the UK, most attention was given to England in the longitudinal study (which I will discuss in detail in the section below) as well as Northern Ireland and Wales, but Scotland was not mentioned, except in a reference by Maitles & Gilchrist (2004) about the statement that “the introduction of citizenship education into the National Curriculum for England is matched by parallel initiatives in EDC elsewhere in the UK” (Osler & Starkey, 2006, p.434). It is not clear whether or not this was intentional.

The main findings of these reports conclude that:

- “Research and analysis of citizenship education has often been conducted with little reference to parallel developments taking place elsewhere. So, for example, while US researchers place considerable emphasis on the need to balance unity and diversity (patriotism and cosmopolitanism), this debate has, in the UK, not always been recognized as a mainstream issue and has not been examined by those reporting on the implementation of education for democratic citizenship at school level...;
- European institutions, especially the Council of Europe and the European Commission, have been active in supporting research and curriculum development in schools and teacher education... but it is not clear whether the research community is building upon or analysing these experiences to a significant degree...;
- There has been no significant independent funding for research in this area and consequently no substantial and coherent programme of university-based research into what is widely recognized as one of the most important recent developments in the national curriculum...;
- A number of studies appear to have been conducted in a vacuum, with researchers failing to draw upon the available research literature. Recognizing that established democracies as well as newer democracies need to be sustained if they are to flourish... and education for democratic citizenship among young people needs to be supported by independent research which will further inform policy and practice” (Osler & Starkey, 2006, p.454).

The growth of **empirical studies** in past ten years is closely associated with an attempt to monitor the progress formal citizenship learning has made in the UK. A key example includes Citizens in Transition (CiT) carried out by a team of researchers at NFER in 2011.

In essence, the CiT study follows up the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) that originally ran from 2001 to 2010, in order to investigate the impact of the introduction of Citizenship as a new statutory curriculum subject for 11 to 16 year-olds in England in 2002. CELS included “a panel of young people whose citizenship progress was followed throughout their secondary school years, from the age of 11 through to statutory school leaving age at 16, and then on to the age of 18”. The eighth and final report was published in 2010 (Keating *et al.*, 2010). The CiT study consists of two parts: (a) the CELS study 2000-2011 which explores how young people’s citizenship practices are continuing to change in early adulthood, and what

role their statutory citizenship education has played in shaping their practices beyond the age of 18 (Sturman *et al.*, 2012a) and; (b) a UK, cross-national, comparative study that compares citizenship understanding, attitudes and behaviours of groups of young people in England with those in Scotland and Wales who have not been exposed to a statutory citizenship education curriculum (Sturman *et al.*, 2012b). The cross-national sample included 1,000 young people (504 of which were living in Scotland) between 18 and 25 years of age which is close to the CELS panel cohort who were aged 19 to 20. For the purpose of my research, findings from the latter study are included in this chapter.

The study found that, while many of the citizenship learning experiences and attitudes of students are similar in England, Scotland and Wales, there are also subtle differences in these across the three countries. For example:

- “The young people were asked how much they were taught about voting and elections. 62% of the respondents taught in Scotland identified that they were taught ‘a lot’ or ‘a little’ about this. This was in contrast to England and Wales, where the percentages of respondents were lower by 15-19% points, at 47% and 43% respectively” (Sturman *et al.*, 2012b, p.8);
- “When the respondents were asked how much they were taught about parliament and government, 65% those schooled in Scotland identified that they were taught ‘a lot’ or ‘a little’ at school/college. This was 8-9 % points higher than in England and Wales” (ibid.);
- “59% of those schooled in Scotland identified that they were taught ‘a lot’ or ‘a little’ about the European Union (EU). This was 14 % points higher than those schooled in England, and 10 points higher than those schooled in Wales” (ibid.);
- “There were significant cross-national differences in trust in family and people of similar age to participants, with participants in England being least trusting of people of similar age, and those schooled in Scotland being most trusting; similarly those in Scotland showed higher levels of trust in their family compared with those in England and Wales” (ibid., p.10);
- “Participants from Scotland were significantly less likely to agree strongly with the statement ‘people not born in Britain should be required to learn English’ ” (ibid.);
- “A majority of young people generally expressed an intention to vote in future elections. There were cross-national differences in future plans to vote in local elections, with participants schooled in Scotland



more certain that they would do this than those in England" (ibid., p.11);

- "There were cross-national differences on whether people should protest peacefully against a law that they believe to be unjust, against a background of support for this statement across all three countries (59-71%). Participants in Scotland and England were more likely to agree or strongly agree with this statement than those in Wales" (ibid.); and
- in regard to the meaning of citizenship, "only one of the 12 statements showed a significant difference across the three nations. This was 'standing up for your beliefs', selected by 21% in Wales, fewer in Scotland (15%) and fewer again (11%) in England" (ibid., p.12).

What these findings indicate is the impact of the Scottish approach to education for citizenship on young people's knowledge, values and attitudes towards citizenship, politics and political participation. It can be argued that education for citizenship in Scottish schools focuses on development of political literacy and formal political participation, such as voting, as well as European identity. In addition, education for citizenship has positive impacts on young people's citizenship development in terms of voting intentions and participation in peaceful protests, as well as their trust in family and other people close to them, but not necessarily on multicultural values.

Nevertheless, these findings require a cautious approach as they are primarily based on survey results and aimed at offering a comparative perspective. In other words, it provides limited knowledge about the Scottish experience in general. Whilst Scottish young people may have relatively greater intentions of voting in elections, this does not eliminate the possibility of a low voting turnout amongst young people in Scotland.

Research data at UK and Scottish levels has significant implications for this research project. For example, it provides detailed knowledge about the contextual factors which influence the development of education for citizenship in the UK as a whole, but the evidence base giving insights into the Scottish experience is still limited compared to other nations, particularly England. Also, the small quantity of available data also has limitations due to its focus on quantitative information, which means that it provides little information about the experience of young people.

In this section, I critically reviewed examples of studies on education for citizenship at international, European and national levels that have been influential in constructing the overarching aims and objectives of this study. To summarise trends in researching education for citizenship since the early 2000s:

- it is largely policy-driven (i.e. to evaluate or monitor policy development and implementation related to education for citizenship), thus often does not involve 'real' stories of young people as engaged citizens
- whilst responding to ongoing social and political changes (e.g. globalisation, European issues, devolution in the UK), the overarching assumption underlying education for citizenship is a perceived notion of 'youth problems' or 'youth deficit' largely associated with the decline of voting turnout and negative perceptions of traditional political organisations such as political parties;
- whilst citizenship is broadly defined as encompassing active participation as well as learning about basic rights and responsibilities, often in practice, the focus is on the latter;
- the majority of studies on education for citizenship focuses on formal education, more specifically the national curriculum, thus little is known about community-based opportunities;
- community has become a crucial domain of the formalised educational agenda of citizenship learning.

In addition to these issues, it should be noted that the overall contextual factors that education for citizenship research are embedded in are now out of date: i.e. from before the 2008 global financial crisis. Evidence (e.g. Hoskins & Kerr, 2012) suggests that the current economic crisis and resultant changes in policies (e.g. austerity, public spending cuts and emphasis on NEET etc.) have a significant influence on young people's lives as citizens. More research needs to be done in order to understand the detailed accounts of young people's experience of citizenship learning and engagement in the post-2008 context. These changing social, political and economic conditions in wider society, as well as the gaps in existing studies, generate a need to reframe citizenship education research which taps into the lives of young people as citizens beyond the conventional policy framing and applies a

range of insights into how critical theoretical frameworks can help widen the focus of analysis and deepen our understanding of the issues that need to be addressed.

My study seeks to contribute to the existing field of citizenship education research and aims to generate a new conceptual framework that not only reflects on young citizens' lives in the post-2008 economic crisis context in Scotland, but also provides a critical, analytical tool to explore the assumptions, experiences and claims made for teaching and learning citizenship in schools and the community.

I will now critically examine some of the existing interpretations of education for citizenship to help identify and understand the broader context for my study. I present two contrasting models; school-based and community-based, which illustrate the contested domains of practice of education for citizenship.

## **Different models of education for citizenship**

### ***School-based model***

One model, which frames the study of citizenship education, is provided by Westheimer and Kahne (2004). This is a useful model because they draw attention to the underlying assumptions and not simply the practices of citizenship education. Previous research reviewed has tended to stay within the dominant framings rather than interrogating them. Also, Westheimer and Kahne's framework brings to the fore the critical issue of what type of democracy citizenship education is linked with. It does not assume the link is necessarily 'good' but that it can be related to a particular political position on democracy. The section below considers Westheimer and Kahne's school-based framework of education for citizenship in more detail.

From the findings of a study of school-based programmes promoting democratic citizenship in the United States, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) have developed a framework of education for citizenship. This describes three differing interpretations of the citizen. These include: (a) the *personally responsible citizen*; (b) the *participatory citizen*; and (c) the *justice-oriented citizen*. Westheimer and Kahne claim that these concepts are not cumulative. Instead, each vision of citizenship “reflects a relatively distinct set of theoretical and curricular goals” (p.241). By mapping out different concepts of citizenship, they therefore argue that the idea of democratic citizenship is multi-faceted, embracing diverse ideological and political discourses of citizenship and democracy. As a result, a “politics of educating for democracy” emerges (ibid., p.237).

The personally responsible citizen “acts responsibly in his or her community by, for example, picking up litter, giving blood, recycling, obeying laws, and staying out of debt” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p.241). He or she “contributes to food or clothing drives when asked and volunteers to help those less fortunate, whether in a soup kitchen or a senior center” (ibid.). This vision highlights the individualistic notion of good citizenship: i.e. having desirable personal character traits. The curriculum that adopts a personally responsible citizen model essentially seeks to “build character and personal responsibility by emphasizing honesty, integrity, self-discipline, and hard work”, thus it focuses on character education and voluntary activities (ibid.).

The participatory citizen “actively participate[s] in the civic affairs and the social life of the community at the local, state or national level” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p.241). “Proponents of participatory citizenship argue that civic participation transcends particular community problems or opportunities ...[and] develops relationships, common understandings, trust, and collective commitments” (p.242). Attempting to prepare “students to engage in collective, community-based efforts”, the curriculum promoting the participatory citizen emphasises teaching young people about “how government and community-based organizations work and training them to

plan and participate in organized efforts to care for people in need or, for example, to guide school politics” (pp.241-2). It also highlights the “skills associated with such collective endeavours — such as how to run a meeting” (p.242) “Whereas the personally responsible citizen would contribute cans of food for the homeless, the participatory citizen might organise the food drive” (ibid.). These two models reflect the concerns of much of the research reviewed earlier.

The justice-oriented citizen is probably the “least commonly pursued” model because it focuses on preparing young people “to improve society by critically analyzing and addressing social issues and injustices. These programmes are less likely to emphasize the need for charity and volunteerism as ends in themselves and more likely to teach about social movements and how to effect systematic change” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p.242). “The vision of the justice-oriented citizen shares with the vision of the participatory citizen an emphasis on collective work related to the life and issues of the community” (ibid.) However, “its focus on responding to social problems and to structural critique make it somewhat different” (ibid.). It is important to note that, while educating the justice-oriented citizen may involve politically contentious issues related to social justice and social change, this does not imply the taking of a particular political stance (such as a left wing position). It aims to engage young people in informed analysis and discussion regarding social, political and economic structures” and “make them consider collective strategies for change that challenge injustice and, when possible, address root causes of problems” (p.243).

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) argue that the type of dominant, personally responsible citizenship in the USA may be beneficial to producing “trustworthy, helpful, hard-working, and pleasant students”, yet there is a need for caution because “there is nothing inherently *democratic* about personally responsible citizenship, and specifically *undemocratic* practices are sometimes associated with programmes that reply exclusively on notions of personal responsibility” (p.248, original emphasis). In other words, whilst these characteristics may be desirable they are not necessarily democratic.

Therefore, they argue that the approach of developing the personally responsible citizen is not “an adequate response to the challenges of educating a democratic citizenry” (ibid., p.243). “The emphasis placed on individual character and behavior obscures the need for collective and public sector initiatives; that this emphasis distracts attention from analysis of the causes of social problems and from systematic solutions; that volunteerism and kindness are put forward as ways of avoiding politics and policy” (ibid.).

In summary, each vision of education for citizenship in the formal (school) setting represents not merely different pedagogical foci, but also different, often conflicting, democratic goals and aims, underpinned by the conception of citizenship conceived by each model. From this perspective, education for citizenship in schools is not value-free but is fundamentally a value-laden activity which, “reflects not arbitrary choices, but rather, political choices and political consequences” (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, p.237).

Westheimer and Kahne’s framework (2004) focuses on differing conceptions of learning citizenship *inside* the formal education setting, i.e. schools. From this perspective, there is a need to change the focus of this framework by drawing on a model of citizenship education and learning *outside* of the research undertaken in a conventional schooling context. The following section reviews different models of education for citizenship in informal (community) education settings. This cross-fertilisation of framings offers the opportunity for a critical analysis of the problems and practices in teaching and learning citizenship.

### ***Community-based model***

Crowther and Martin (2010), writing in the context of adult education and citizenship, identify distinct social and political interests in the relationship between the state and civil society. These include: (a) a communitarian

perspective: learning for membership; (b) a Habermasian perspective: learning for deliberation; and (c) a Gramscian perspective: learning for activism.

As adult education is concerned with education for adults, not children, in most educational debates it is discussed in a separate domain. Nonetheless, I find Crowther and Martin (2010)'s typology useful in analysing different models of community-based opportunities for young people's citizenship learning for two reasons. Firstly, like Westheimer and Kahne (2004), Crowther and Martin (2010)'s work offers detailed descriptions of both theoretical orientations and pedagogical approaches in practice in each model. Secondly, the inherent aim of education for citizenship for young people is essentially in line with what Crowther and Martin (2010) consider as the ultimate aim of adult education: fostering critically engaged social and political actors, capable of not merely democratic associational life but also "the kind of prefigurative work that is required to show that another world is possible" (p.191).

The section below describes the key characteristics of each model of education for citizenship outlined by Crowther and Martin (2010).

Firstly, the communitarian perspective is essentially associated with the concerns of American communitarians, such as Amitai Etzioni (1995) and Robert Putnam (1993; 1995; 2000), who assert that contemporary democratic society suffers from the moral decline of civil society as a whole, as a result of a series of interconnected social changes in the past few decades. These include "permissiveness in the 1960s, the break-up of traditional family structures, a decline in social trust, the growth of dependency culture nurtured by welfare provision, increases in violent crime, a lack of responsibility, particularly among the young and the unemployed, and the proliferation of minority groups" (Etzioni, 1995 cited in Crowther and Martin, 2010, p.192).

Robert Putnam, in his bestseller *Bowling Alone* (2000), articulates a demoralisation of American civil society that is rooted in young people, or what he refers to as 'generation X' (those born between the early 1960s and early 1980s after the end of the babyboom in the USA). For Putnam, moralisation is important not only for individuals and their relationship with others, but also for society as a whole. In other words, moralisation has a capitalistic value in the production of (democratic) society. In Putnam's view of social capital, young people's demoralisation, i.e. their political alienation and disengagement with the community, is interpreted as a threat to both general (civil) society and young people themselves because they are essentially part of the present civil society and will also become the dominant members of future civil society. Therefore, there needs to be a remedy for young people's demoralisation.

Putnam's approach can be differentiated from that of other communitarians because, in his view, the origin of demoralisation lies in human relationships, whereas for the others, it lies within individuals (Crowther and Martin, 2010). Nonetheless, these two are considered in the same context, as the remedies suggested by both are largely similar to each other: the remoralisation of society in general, and of young people in particular. Education plays a crucial role in this process as a major institution of socialisation that can initiate young people to be more responsible and more involved in civic and community affairs.

One of the limitations of the communitarian model is embedded in its focus on the problem as a moral deficit of individuals, thus allowing "inequalities in social structure and resources to be ignored. Etzioni and Putnam take little interest in poverty and inequality as causal factors in the decline of communities and their social capital. The separation of civil society from the economy therefore leads away from politically controversial issues such as the distribution of wealth and power" (Crowther and Martin, 2010, p.193). Another problem with the communitarian perspective is located in its emphasis on "civil society, rather than the role of the state in reviving civil society [which] can let governments off the hook by transferring



responsibility from statutory provision to voluntary effort” of individuals and communities (ibid.). Crowther and Martin highlight that “ironically, the state’s interest in encouraging participation in civic activity seems to be increasing at the same time as democratic spaces for learning seem to be diminishing” (ibid.). As a result, participation increasingly occurs within the “invited spaces” of top-down policy imperatives, rather than the “popular spaces” of demands from below (Cornwall, 2003).

The Habermasian perspective, i.e. learning for deliberation, is the second aspect of Crowther and Martin’s analysis (2010). This model is aligned with German critical theorist, Jurgen Harbamas, and his concept of the ‘public sphere’, that has been highly influential in contemporary debates on democratic politics and civil society. In his work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public* (1989[1962]), Habermas explains how a democratic public sphere has developed since the seventeenth century and how it declined in the twentieth century because of “the instrumentalism of capitalism (in which it becomes simply a political means to an economic end) and the relativism of postmodernism (in which universal values and purposes are deemed no longer to matter)” (Crowther and Martin, 2010, p.193). Habermas argues that, in modern society, civil society exists outside the political and the economic spheres, where the rights of citizens are fundamentally oppressed by the power of the state. Citizens, therefore, meet each other in public spheres, such as the town hall, the village church, the coffee house and the union hall, and exchange ideas and discuss shared issues for collective deliberation (Crowther and Martin, 2010). Therefore, civil society and the public sphere play a vital role in the emancipation of citizens and the development of a democratic society in modern (western) history. The ultimate aim of education for citizenship, from the Habermasian perspective, is to “encourage people to think constructively and creatively for themselves and to enable them to follow the agreed rules of democratic discourse” and contribute to constructing a deliberative democracy “constituted and sustained through a process of rational deliberation... amongst equal citizens” (ibid., p.193).

One of the main limitations of the Habermasian perspective, according to Crowther and Martin (2010), is related to its assumption of “the egalitarian relationship between members in which participation and democratic discussion focused on issues of common interest or concern are fundamental” (Crowther and Martin, 2010, p.194). Clearly for young people who are denied equal access to shaping political decisions this is not true. Importantly, however, ‘living democratically’ fundamentally differs from ‘living in a democracy’. Living one’s life by respecting others, tolerating differences and accepting decisions for the benefit of society as a whole does not necessarily bring about a more democratic society. Democracy is not a panacea, but is essentially an “unfinished project” (ibid., p.193) which entails struggles between different political ideologies. Therefore, it requires not merely citizens equipped with the knowledge and skills for democratic communication, but those with the capacity to think critically and take action in order to bring about progressive social change. The distinction between learning for democratic deliberation and learning for democracy has crucial implications for young people’s citizenship learning and participation. In order to avoid “ventriloquism”, in which the voices and views of young people are simply those of adults (Fine, 1994 cited in Barber, 2007, p.28), there is a need to create education for citizenship as a meaningful space, where young people can participate in democratic decision-making as equal partners with adult citizens, and have a real influence on both the outcomes and processes of decision-making.

Crowther and Martin (2010) go further and draw on the analysis of Gramsci to highlight the fundamental problem of hegemonic control and the role of education in this process. Gramsci’s analysis relates much more directly to the problem, mentioned at the beginning, about how people learn to govern rather than simply to be governed. It therefore creates an opportunity for widening the framework for analysis, by problematising democratic citizenship.

This model of learning for activism is fundamentally embedded in Antonio Gramsci’s work on cultural politics and the role of intellectuals in social

change (Crowther and Martin, 2010, p.194). Gramsci essentially regarded schooling as an effective means of 'persuasion' to ensure the state's monopoly in reinforcing and reproducing the dominant ideas and values (ibid.). In contrast, critical education resists and challenges the reproduction of the dominant hegemony by creating "organic intellectuals, who are able to articulate their interest and galvanise class action as a necessary first step towards social transformation... Education is therefore the foundation of revolutionary activity" (Holst, 2002 cited in Crowther and Martin, 2010, p.194). The nature of civil society depicted in the Gramscian perspective fundamentally differs from the communitarian sense of associational life and the Habermasian sense of deliberation within the established procedures of democratic communication and decision-making. Instead, it is essentially a space for "informal and non-institutionalized political activity *outside* the state [that is] an important precondition for the health of democratic politics within the state" (ibid., p.191).

Crucial to the Gramscian approach is that, whilst the original focus of Gramsci's analysis of critical education was on class struggle, its scope is not confined to this. With the recognition of new social movements, cultural politics and postmodern thinking from the 1960s onwards, the contemporary discourse of Gramscian thinking includes various strands of radical education, including "localized narratives of change and selective change around particular issues such as the environment... [that] have either used or dispensed with Gramsci to explain the dynamics of power in civil society and what can be done" (Welton, 1995 cited in Crowther & Martin, 2010, p.195).

### ***Synthesising different models of education for citizenship***

Whilst written in very different contexts, of formal, school-based and informal, community-based domains of citizenship learning, the main arguments of Westheimer and Khane (2004) and Crowther and Martin (2010)

can mutually enrich our thinking about the relationship between citizenship education and democracy. They encapsulate the tensions and dilemmas of the politics of educating democratic citizens by examining fundamentally competing and contested meanings and practices of 'good citizenship'.

Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) personally responsible citizen largely overlaps with Crowther and Martin's (2010) communitarian perspective, in terms of its focus on Putman's theory on social capital and learning for membership, by taking on responsibilities and doing good deeds in the community. Similarly, the characteristics of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) participatory citizen are similar to Crowther and Martin's (2010) Habermasian perspective which emphasises knowledge and skills of democratic deliberation, essential for engaging with institutionalised and invited spaces of political participation. Attributes of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) justice-oriented citizen are consonant with Crowther and Martin's (2010) Gramscian perspective that stipulates the role of dissident citizens, to bring about social transformation. However, it is important to note that the Gramscian perspective goes *beyond* Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) justice-oriented citizen in that it poses the problem of citizenship education in hegemonic terms and around social and political domination. Gramsci is calling for a social revolution in society and places the role of education *as* a problem and a potential resource in this process.

In Table 3.2 below (page 97), I summarise key characteristics of the synthesised framework of different models of education for citizenship offered by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Crowther and Martin (2010).

One of the key concerns in relation to the politics of educating democratic citizens is the proposed idea of educational neutrality in teaching citizenship. As discussed in Chapter 2, citizenship is an essentially contested concept, the meaning of which is subject to controversies and conflicts between inherently competing political ideals and interests of rival social and political groups in society. Therefore, as Chantal Mouffe (2011) points out, the politics of a truly pluralist, democratic society is by nature *agonistic* rather than harmonious,

that is, fundamentally grounded in the very existence of dissenting voices and claims. Crucial to Mouffe's argument is that a negative conception of power in deliberative democracy is a disturbing factor that legitimises the interests and values of certain groups, while invalidating others, thus needs to be overcome and ideally eliminated (Biesta, 2011c).

**Table 3.2: The synthesised framework of education for citizenship**

Purposes of citizenship education	Learning for membership	Learning for deliberation	Learning for activism
Types of citizens	Personally responsible citizen	Participatory citizen	Justice-oriented citizen
Core assumptions	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible and law-abiding members of the community	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures.	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question, debate and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time.
Main characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Act responsibly in his/her community;</li> <li>Works and pays taxes;</li> <li>Obeys laws;</li> <li>Recycles;</li> <li>Gives blood;</li> <li>Volunteers to lend a hand in times of crisis</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Active member of community organisations and/or improvement efforts;</li> <li>Organises community efforts to care for those in needs, promotes economic development, or cleans up the environment;</li> <li>Knows how government agencies work;</li> <li>Knows strategies for accomplishing collective tasks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Critically assesses social, political and economic structures to see beyond surface causes;</li> <li>Seeks out and addresses areas of injustice;</li> <li>Knows about democratic social movements and how to effect systematic change</li> </ul>
Sample Action	Contributes to food to a food drive	Helps to organise a food drive	Explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes
Key theory	Social capital theory	Discursive democracy	Social movement
Young people	Young people as citizens in the making	Young people as being irresponsible and dependent: i.e. 'the undeserving'	Young people as engaged citizens
Aim of education	Socialisation	Entrepreneurial 'human capital'	Participation in public life and social change

(Adapted from Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Crowther & Martin, 2010)

Yet, for Mouffe, "relations of power are *constitutive* of the social... The question for democracy, therefore 'is not how to eliminate power but how to constitute forms of power more compatible with democratic values'"

(Mouffe, 2000, p.14 quoted in Biesta, 2011c, p.147). From this viewpoint, Mouffe further highlights that, whilst it is important to acknowledge the power dynamics in society in the creation of a distinction between us and them... the 'novelty of democratic politics is not the overcoming of this us/ them opposition — which is an impossibility — but the different way in which it is established'" (Mouffe, 2000, p.10, quoted in Biesta, 2011c, p.148).

Mouffe's work has crucial implications for education for democratic citizenship. Programmes and activities of education for citizenship, as illustrated in the analyses of Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Crowther and Martin (2010), entail distinctive sets of knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to foster a particular notion of a good, desirable citizenship.

According to Mouffe (2000; 2011), such a distinction made between good and bad citizenship inevitably involves legitimising the values and ideals of certain groups while estranging or eliminating others. But if we accept conflict and diversity as *sine qua non* of democratic politics, as Mouffe (2000) claims, education for democratic citizenship should involve critical examination of different meanings of citizenship and the complex relationship between citizenship, democracy and education, rather than simply inculcating pre-defined knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Biesta (2011a) underlines that meaningful education for citizenship is organically connected to democratic citizenship. What this urges is a radical change in the paradigm of the curriculum of education for citizenship: i.e. from 'teaching citizenship' to 'learning democracy'. This has crucial implications for educational researchers because it requires a substantive understanding of "the ways young people actually learn democracy" (Biesta, 2011a, p.15). For Biesta, such research fundamentally "gives a central role to their actual 'condition of citizenship'. It is only by following young people as they move in and out of different contexts, practices and institutions and by trying to understand what they learn from their participation, or non-participation, in these contexts, that we can actually beginning to understand what is going in the lives of young citizens in Britain today" (ibid.)

Another concern for Biesta about different models of education for citizenship is associated with the ways in which the ‘problem’ of citizenship is represented. Whilst young people are regarded as members of the ‘public’ sphere, the problem of youth citizenship is mainly understood as ‘private’ matters of individual character and behaviour (Biesta, 2011a, p.15). Thus, education for citizenship primarily considers personal development opportunities and outcomes, based on predefined knowledge, skills and attitudes. Yet, Biesta argues that, “the problem of citizenship is not about young people as individuals but about young people-in-context which is why [education for citizenship] should not focus on young people as isolated individuals but on young people-in-relationship and on the social, economic, cultural and political conditions of their lives” (ibid.) Therefore, a critical approach to education for citizenship involves providing democratically constructive spaces where young people can critically examine contestation and conflict between different conceptions and conditions of citizenship and the complex relationship between citizenship, democracy and education, rather than simply aiming at socialising young people into the existing political and economic *status quo* (Carr, 1991).

## **Developing a new conceptual framework**

A theoretical exploration of existing literature on citizenship and education for citizenship has resulted in a complex conceptual framework, mapping the spectrum of ideological positions and pedagogical aims and approaches in formal and informal sites of citizenship learning and practice. In addition, the studies reviewed earlier have highlighted the need to contextualise the changing nature of citizenship education, particularly in relation to globalisation and, increasingly, to trends in Europe. We need therefore to incorporate different levels as well as different contexts for analysing citizenship education.

The tripartite models developed by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Crowther and Martin (2010) have been influential in terms of providing the keystone of a new conceptual framework of education for citizenship. Whilst combining different aspects of the existing literature, this new framework is more inclusive and potentially able to discriminate among a range of practices of citizenship education. This is possible by categorising economic citizenship (i.e. learning for entrepreneurial citizenship) as an independent dimension on its own, rather than part of a (personally responsible) membership dimension within the existing tripartite models. The economic citizenship dimension is linked to the trends in young people and citizenship in the context of neoliberal globalisation, which I identified in Chapter 2.

I now offer a brief description of the contrasting aims of education for citizenship and discuss the respective levels of impact and influence. Table 3.3 summarises the conceptual framework that has been developed to inform this study (page 101).

### ***Levels of participation***

The different perspectives on citizenship education were further classified into different levels of engagement, i.e. below the state, (nation) state-level and beyond the state, with each level entailing a specific set of knowledge, skills, values and participatory experiences corresponding with or required for citizenship engagement.

Authors such as Delanty (2000), Lister (2007a), Painter (2008), Mayo, Gaventa and Rooke (2009) and Priestley *et al.*, (2011) point out that practice(s) of citizenship can occur at different places and spaces in the lives of individuals. In a traditional Marshallian understanding, citizenship is associated with a legal status, mostly entitled by modern nation-states (see Chapter 2). However, many contemporary critics argue that equating citizenship with national identity or nationalism is no longer appropriate in



the 21<sup>st</sup> century's globalised and multicultural world. People are likely to possess *multiple* identities, including personal/local (e.g. gender, age, race/ethnicity, religion, local community and city) to international and supranational ones (e.g. British identity, European citizenship, global citizenship, world citizenship) (Held, 1995; Delanty, 2000; Jamieson *et al.*, 2007).

**Table 3.3: A conceptual framework of citizenship education**

Aim Level				
	Learning for membership	Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship	Learning for formal political participation	Learning for activism
<b>Beyond the state</b>  (European; transnational; international; global)	European citizenship; cosmopolitan citizenship; world citizenship; global citizenship	Global market; world trade; multi-national corporations	European elections; European youth parliament	Issues of international and global communities (e.g. sustainable development; poverty; human rights; capitalism) international youth activist organisations/ networks
<b>State-level</b>  (government; local authorities; educational agencies)	National identity; nationalism; social inclusion; common good; social capital	Enterprise education; human capital; welfare; wealth creation; employment; apprenticeship	Formal decision-making (e.g. voting, policy consultations); traditional political organisations (e.g. political parties, trade unions); youth parliament	Domestic issues and policies; strategic non-participation; national youth activist groups/ networks
<b>Below the state</b>  (family; school; peer group; local community)	Good personal characteristics; connectedness; caring; social activities (e.g. volunteering; charity work; donation; community service learning)	Employability skills (e.g. creativity; leadership; entrepreneurship; competitiveness); volunteering; accredited learning opportunities	Political literacy; political attitude; Pupil (student) councils; youth forums	Social responsibility; critical awareness; social change; Participation in everyday life; personal and local community issues; youth direct activism

Painter (2008) suggests that decoupling the notion of citizenship from the nation-state, or what he terms the “*spatializing* citizenship theory” (p.7, my emphasis), essentially re-formulates citizenship within a “fuller understanding of citizenship, incorporating rights, membership and participation” (Shaw 1998 cited in Painter, 2008, p.8). In a similar vein, Lister

(2007a) outlines how democratic claim-making occurs at *multi-scalar* levels — below the nation-state (e.g. family, neighbourhood, local community) as well as beyond (e.g. European, transnational, international and global community).

Adopting such a multi-dimensional conceptualisation, each aim of citizenship education can further contextualised into three levels, including:

- *Below the state*: family, school, peer group and local community;
- *Nation-state*: government, local authorities, educational agencies; and
- *Beyond the state*: European, transnational, supranational, international and global community.

Reorganising different models of citizenship education into a multitude of participatory spaces was particularly useful in analysing the wider literature as well as the empirical data collected through a qualitative research project I designed to investigate the kind(s) of citizenship taught and learnt in practice.

### ***Learning for membership***

This model centres on a passive and minimal ‘good neighbourly’ version of citizenship which includes desirable personal traits and behaviour through a sense of belonging, connectedness, caring, volunteering and other pro-social activities. It largely resonates with the characteristics of a *personally responsible citizen* in Westheimer and Kahne (2004). This vision mainly focuses on an individualistic notion of good citizenship, i.e. taking personal responsibility for managing self and looking after those in need for the sake of communitarian ideals such as community cohesion and social inclusion (Crowther & Martin, 2010, p.193).

In this model young people are largely regarded as citizens in the making, or as “navigating through a so-called ‘risk society’ ...negotiating their way along

transitional pathways shaped by social structures that are unrecognisable to their parents” (Fyfe, 2010, p.73). Therefore, the citizenship curriculum and related policies for youth in the learning for membership model, usually attempt to *socialise* young people through education in order to build good character and personal responsibility, and encourage learning for community service, primarily “by emphasizing honesty, integrity, self-discipline, and hard work” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p.241)

### ***Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship***

The term ‘entrepreneurial citizenship’ is used widely when referring to various strands of formal and informal practices of citizenship education, which have the aims of economic prosperity and wealth creation. These include: (a) hard economic themes such as vocational training, business studies, financial awareness and enterprise education; as well as (b) soft economic themes, e.g. creativity, leadership, adaptability, competitiveness and other transferable skills, including literacy and numeracy, ICT skills, social/communicative skills, etc. (Humes, 2002).

The principal focus of this perspective is on education’s direct connection to work, through providing young people with opportunities to develop and improve their employability in order to survive and succeed in the so-called ‘knowledge-based economy’ of the twenty-first century. Like the previous perspective, learning for entrepreneurial citizenship also adopts a deficit view of young people, primarily as, due to their status of financial dependency, they make little or no economic contribution. Youth unemployment and young people who are not in education, employment or training (NEET) are two central issues and citizenship programmes are likely to emphasise *upskilling* the future workforce as well as *remoralising* the alleged culture of idleness and irresponsibility amongst the young.

### ***Learning for formal political participation***

This perspective primarily emphasises the development of political literacy, required for participation in the formal political systems and procedures of formal decision-making. It is largely consonant with what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) refer to as a *participatory citizen*, who is ultimately a member of a political community. Young people's disengagement from formal political systems and decision-making procedures and their low voting turnout (e.g. Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley, 2004; Henn & Weinstein, 2006) is a central issue of this model. Like the other two models, citizenship programmes/activities adopting learning for formal political participation also derive from a deficit view, where young people are largely regarded as being *uninformed*, apathetic or disinterested citizens. Therefore, the essential aim of this model is to *re-engage* young people, and equip them with the requisite attitudes and skills, and knowledge of the systems and principles of representative democracy.

### ***Learning for activism***

This perspective essentially focuses on young people's direct involvement in social action and political activism to challenge the *status quo* and bring about social change. It is based on Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) idea of a *justice-oriented citizen* as well as Crowther and Martin's (2010)'s *Gramscian perspective*. Gramsci's analysis deepens the critique of education as part of the hegemonic apparatus of society, and therefore challenges the nature of schooling as well as citizenship education. This more radical and systemic critique of education suggests that what is required is a different type of schooling and not merely a different type of citizenship education. The justice-oriented citizens "are less likely to emphasize the need for charity and volunteerism as ends in themselves and more likely to teach about social movements and how to effect systemic change" (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004, p. 242); but learning for activism requires a challenge to the structures of power in society and in schools.

Learning for activism is clearly dissimilar to the other three models referred to. Firstly, it regards young people as *engaged citizens*, capable of autonomous and critical social action and political engagement. Secondly, citizenship education should reflect the bottom-up interests and issues of young people rather than delivering top-down, adult-oriented agendas. Thirdly, the nature of learning is fundamentally informal and dialogic, in that young people learn citizenship by *acting as* citizens, renegotiating and reconfiguring the kind(s) of good citizenship required for the building of a more democratic society, alongside or against adults, rather than simply accepting predefined values and norms of citizenship.

Despite its crucial implications for democracy by encouraging dissenting voices and educating justice-oriented citizens, learning for activism, in reality, may be the least commonly practised model because it involves a challenge to the power of the status quo.

## Conclusion

This chapter reviewed findings from existing studies on education for citizenship. To summarise, education for citizenship is an essentially contested domain of practice, entailing various ideological perspectives of citizenship, democracy and education. The resurgence of interest in education for citizenship in the 1990s and early 2000s is mainly related to globalisation and resultant changes in social conditions. In contrast, the contextual factor that underpins practice from 2008 onwards is qualitatively different, with the emergence of economic citizenship as the dominant policy agenda.

For this study, an aggregation of old and new models of education for citizenship has resulted in the development a quadripartite conceptual framework with two axes: learning for membership, learning for

entrepreneurial citizenship, learning for formal political participation and learning for activism. Further systemisation was developed by applying different levels of participation to each framework: below the state, state level and beyond the state.

This framework was useful for this research in many ways. It set out the overarching aims of the research as well as helping answer the specific research questions. Furthermore, it offered a key analytical tool to critically engage with the assumptions and developments made in relevant policy and practice. The next chapter begins with a critique of the policy context in Scotland.

## Chapter 4

# Education for Citizenship: Trends in Scottish policy

### Introduction

Ratification of the UNCRC in 1991 has brought about a fundamental shift in citizenship education to equip young people with rights *and* responsibilities to fulfil their potential as engaged citizens, rather than citizens in the making. This chapter reviews the literature pertaining to the policy context of citizenship education in Scotland. These developments are situated in the wider context of thinking about citizenship education which has been influenced by global trends and developments in recent years. These developments can, however, involve different choices about how citizenship education is constructed in policy. Therefore, it is important to locate thinking about citizenship education also in the ideological context in which it has been incubated and reshaped.

This chapter focuses on Scottish perspective in young people's citizenship learning in formal (school) and informal (community education) settings. The main aim is to situate the dominant framings of educational policy since the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 but in the context of community education the development of policy in community education dates back to the 1975 Alexander Report, *Adult Education: The Challenge of Change* (HMSO 2002[1975]).

In many countries, including Scotland, schools are often seen as key agents for citizenship education for young people, yet the provision of citizenship education differs from country to country, adopting distinctive aims and purposes, curriculum content and pedagogical means (Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Birzea *et al.*, 2004; Nelson & Kerr, 2006; Eurydice, 2012). The respective mode of citizenship education can be rooted in practical concerns relating to issues such as resource availability. More importantly, however, it reflects specific political constraints and value-based priorities in a given society (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Siim (2000 quoted in Lister, 2003a, p.3) highlights that citizenship is a *contextualised* concept that "the [v]ocabularies of citizenship and their meanings vary according to social, political and cultural context and reflect different historical legacies". Therefore discourses of citizenship education, including those strictly adhere to democratic principles, are far from being coterminous.

Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 2, the process of young people's citizenship development is affected by various factors in and outside schools. Biesta (2011a, p.14) highlights this as that school "only represents a small proportion of the environment in and from which young people learn" citizenship". In fact, "they learn as much, and most possibly even more, from their participation in the family or leisure activities, from interaction with their peers, from the media, from advertising and from their role as consumers (ibid.). In this regard, there has been a growing interest in community as a key resource for delivering citizenship education in policy making of the devolved Scotland.



Whilst its history is relatively short compared to formal schooling in official policy-making, community education has a long tradition of citizenship learning. The chapter begins with revisiting the major policy documents of community education. This will provide the socio-historical context which was influential in conceiving particular aims and approaches of education for citizenship in 2002.

## **Community education in Scotland**

The distinctive nature of community education in Scotland can be found in relation to its inherent aspirations to democracy, social justice and equality as well as its informal and learner-centred pedagogical approach to directly respond to the demands of people in communities (Martin, 1987; Tett, 2010). Martin (2008) refers to this as “social purpose” which encompasses the following characteristics:

- Participants/learners are treated as citizens and social actors;
- Curriculum reflects shared social and political interests;
- Knowledge is actively and purposefully constructed to advance these collective interests;
- Pedagogy is based on dialogue rather than transmission;
- Critical understanding is linked to social action and political engagement; and
- Education is always is a key recourse in the broader struggle for social change (p.10)

The social purpose of community education is not a new idea but rooted in a distinctively Scottish way of thinking about social and political democracy that was outlined in the Alexander Report, *Adult Education: The Challenge for Change* (HMSO, 2002[1975]). The recommendations of this report led to the formation of local authority Community Education Services across Scotland and was underpinned by principles of ‘pluralist democracy’. The Alexander Report “believed that community education was a resource for

understanding a changing society and that an educated public was an important resource for democratic change” (Crowther, Martin & Shaw, 2007, p.112). The democratic imperative of engaging with a changing world is captured in the following quote from the report:

Society is now less certain about the values it should uphold and tolerates a wide range. Individual freedom to question the value of established practice and institutions and to propose new forms is part of our democratic heritage. To maintain this freedom, resources should not be put at the disposal only of those who conform but ought reasonably to be made available to all for explicit educational purposes. The motives of those who provide education need not necessarily to be identified with the motives of those for whom it is provided. (HMSO, 2002[1975], pp.47-8)

Crucial to the Alexander Report was the concern for widening educational opportunities for traditional non-participants in its provision such as the elderly, the disabled, single parents, the unemployed, early school leavers and minority ethnic communities. Participation in community education was anticipated to enable these individuals and communities “to develop their capacities for a full and rich personal and social life... [and] to ensure that people have the necessary skills and knowledge to use to the full the resources of society” (ibid., p.48).

But the primary aim of community education envisaged by the Alexander Report was far from simply upskilling people to cope with issues in their private lives. Instead, it emphasised “education for change itself” so that people, especially those who are marginalised, can “play a more active part in shaping their own physical and social environment” (ibid. p.49). To achieve this, the report advocated a shift from community education “being the leisure pursuit of an affluent minority to becoming a more relevant and locally based enterprise” by directly responding to the demands of learners from disadvantaged communities (Tett, 2010, p.17). In other words, social purpose and political education were at the heart of the Alexander Report. The way to engage this wider cross section of society involved adult education becoming ‘allies’ with youth and community workers whose work

in communities entailed taking a community development approach. Although what this actually meant was never fully explained the synergy anticipated by bringing these distinct professions together was to enable the profession of community education to generate a curriculum of education from the 'bottom up'. Some of the unanticipated problems that emerged and hampered this from being fully realised have been documented elsewhere (see Kirkwood, 1990).

The significant development for this study is that the democratic tradition of community education set by the Alexander report was radically restructured in the late 1990s with new policies introduced by a report written by a working group by the Scottish Office chaired by HM Senior Chief Inspector of Schools, Douglas Osler: *Communities Change Through Learning* (The Scottish Office, 2002[1998]). The new vision proposed by the report was to create "a dynamic learning society" by providing community-based learning opportunities for those groups most marginalised from the mainstream of social, economic and political life. It claimed that "the learning society will provide an active and informed citizenship" that is crucial for building a "democratic and socially just" Scotland (ibid., p.441).

The report emphasised that "through learning people can build the confidence and capacity to tackle wider and economic issues, such as health or community safety" (ibid.). Acquiring skills, especially "essential skills, such as literary or basic life management" was viewed as being particularly important because "without them, social exclusion is much more likely" (ibid.). This required a refocus of community educators' work to "develop productive partnerships relating to a wide range of social, economic and health as well as educational needs" of individuals and communities (ibid.). From this perspective, the report identified three main objectives of community. These include:

- Promoting personal development in relation to *lifelong learning*;
- Building community capacity in relation to *social inclusion*; and
- Investing in community learning in relation to *active citizenship*. (ibid., p.449, my emphasis)

The report acknowledged learning active citizenship was crucial in order to enable people “to make a real contribution to their own communities and participate in local and national democratic processes” (The Scottish Office, 2002[1998], p.441). Yet, what was promoted in a name of citizenship in reality was far from social purpose education, as envisioned in the Alexander Report, whereby learning is essentially connected to broader struggle for social transformation. As a matter of fact, whilst community educators were urged to address active citizenship, they were also discouraged from seeing it as a political process: “achieving education for our citizens, as opposed to politicisation of our citizens, is perhaps the most difficult balance to achieve” (Osler, 1999, p.10). Osler goes on to propose that educating the ‘good citizen’ involves the following:

- *Political education* that provides individuals with the capacity, confidence, interest to engage with the political decision making processes at all levels;
- *Economic participation* through functional preparation for, and enhance of, work which includes literacy, numeracy, ICT and other core skills; and
- *Social participation* which aims at empowering individuals to engage effectively with others in society and in their communities (Osler, 1999, p.8).

As the statement above illustrates, citizenship couched in the Osler Report largely omits the critical educational task within the social purpose tradition of learning *for* democracy. Instead, it is more in line with asserting individualistic and depoliticised terms of identifying the learning needs of community volunteers, skilling people to be active in the labour market and the duty to vote.

In order to achieve these new objectives, the report urged that re-conceptualisation of community education was crucial. Community education was now defined as “an approach to education, not a sector of it” that works alongside other (formal) educational institutions such as schools and universities as well as public sectors, the private and voluntary sectors (The Scottish Office, 2002[1998], p.443). Doing so was seen importantly to

“make a major contribution to [New Labour] policies for learning, inclusion and participation” (ibid.). In order to ensure productivity and accountability of practice, the report also recommended to review professional training as well as to set clear targets and monitoring systems.

Many authors critique the Osler Report as a turning point that community education moved away from the social purpose and learning *for* democracy. For instance, Tett (2010, p.24) notes that transformation of community education as an approach “was really about integrating work of community education much more closely with” top-down agendas of the government, rather than responding to the bottom-up demands. She also argues that by focusing on improving skills of professionals, the report seems to misplace the fundamental cause of social inequalities as though it is due to the individual lack of skills, rather than socio-economic structure. This is also observed in its opening speech on the new vision embraced in the Osler Report that “simply referred to Scotland as a ‘democratic and socially just society’ [despite] the evidence of growing inequalities that were concentrated in particular geographic areas characterised by high unemployment” (Tett, 2010, p.23).

Ranciere (2003)’s distinction of ‘equality’ from ‘inclusion’ is useful in understanding the point above. He argues that the logic of ‘equality’ fundamentally differs from that of ‘inclusion’ because the latter aims at assimilating or simply ‘including’ the previously marginalised groups of people into the existing social order, rather than recognising them as ‘equal’ members of the society who have potential to create a new heterogeneous democratic society by challenging and transforming the existing system (ibid.). What seems to be at the centre of the Osler Report’s vision of “democratic and socially just society” is the logic of ‘inclusion’. The report emphasises that marginalised are co-opted to work with the pre-given agendas from the government such as lifelong learning and active citizenship, rather than being accepted as a legitimate group in a pluralist democratic society that represent and make claims for interests of their own.

However, it is important to note the question central to building a genuine democratic society is not about how we can manage consensus, but how we shall create spaces for dissident voices and dissent. As Crowther, Martin and Shaw (2007, p.113) highlights “the awkward citizen has always been much more important to democracy than the conformist partner”. Despite these criticisms, the recommendations made by the Osler Report were taken into account by the government largely in uncontested terms in the next few years. This culminated in *Working and Learning Together to Build Stronger Communities* (WALT) (Scottish Executive, 2004a) which replaced ‘community education’ with ‘community learning and development (CLD)’. Many note that this change of language from ‘education’ to ‘learning and development’ has a crucial implication for debates on citizenship education *for* democracy. Biesta (2009)’s notion of “the ‘learnification’ of education” is particularly useful here. By this, he means “a process which is increasingly having an impact on educational policy and practice itself... [by] turning education into a form of therapy that is more concerned with the emotional well-being of pupils and students than with their emancipation” (ibid., p.39).

For Biesta (2009), the concept of learning essentially differs from that of education in two senses. Firstly, “‘learning’ is basically an *individualistic* concept [which] refers to what people, as individuals do...in stark contrast to the concept of ‘education’ which always implies a relationship: someone educating someone else and the person educating thus having a certain sense of what the purpose of his or her activities is” (ibid., pp.38-9, original emphasis). Secondly, “‘learning’ is basically a *process* term [which] denotes processes and activities but is open — if not empty — with regard to content and direction” (ibid., original emphasis). In this perspective, Biesta argues that educating democratic citizens “ought to be difficult and challenging rather than it is just (depicted as) a smooth process which aims to meet the supposed ‘needs’ of the learner” (ibid.). This is because it involves fundamentally rethinking ideologies underpinning aims and contents of learning, rather than simply accepting or delivering them as preordained ideas that young people should aspire to.

The trend in policy for community education has been to move away from the looser and more 'bottom up' approach of engaging with people's lives in communities as a means of developing relevant curricula, to one of aligning the newly renamed service of community learning development as a way of achieving policy goals which are identified 'from above'. In this process the links between school and community provision of educational opportunities can be more easily linked together. Citizenship education in this context can then be linked to a version of democracy aspired to in policy rather than a version of democracy that is driven by experiences in communities.

## **Introduction to citizenship as a formal educational agenda**

The establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 has brought about significant changes in Scottish society. Increasing autonomy in decision-making implies both potential and challenges for democracy in which the democratic capability of Scottish citizens and its civil society is represented. Moreover, citizenship is often an important means of the state mediating its relationship with its constituency and tells us something about what direction society is heading and what is expected from its citizens. Accordingly, this has resulted in renewed interests in citizenship education in Scotland (Deuchar, 2003; Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Ross, Munn & Brown, 2007).

Citizenship in the early stages of devolution was now regarded as one of the national priorities of Scottish education. This resulted in several policy papers, including two volumes of Education for Citizenship in Scotland (EfC) documents by Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS), *A Paper for Discussion and Consultation* (2000) and *A Paper for Discussion and Development* (2002) as well as a number of document concerning the development of the new national curriculum by the Scottish Executive, such as *The Curriculum for Excellence: The Curriculum Review Group* (2004b).

The emergence of education for citizenship was not a distinctively Scottish movement but largely in line with the Crick Report, *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (The Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998) whose recommendations led to the introduction of citizenship as a core subject of English national curriculum in 2002. The publication of the Crick Report was timely in that it came just before the Osler Report (The Scottish Office, 2002[1998]) and the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament, illustrating UK-wide concerns on “worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life” especially amongst the young (The Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998, p.8).

Drawing from the ‘youth problem’, the Crick Report called for a particular version of education for citizenship that encompasses three distinct, albeit overlapping strands of learning (ibid., p.10). These include:

- *Social and moral responsibility*: children [and young people] learning from the very beginning self-confidence and becoming more socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other;
- *Community involvement*: learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community; and
- *Political literacy*: pupils learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values. (The Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998, pp.11-13)

The concept of political literacy is crucial here as a connector between formal learning experience in the classroom with participation in the community and the wider democratic sphere. The central goal of learning political literacy is not merely to obtain a deeper understanding of factual knowledge of political structures and institutions but to become a ‘good’ and ‘active’ citizen who shows signs of “civic spirit, citizens’ charters and voluntary activity in the community” (ibid., p.10). The establishment of the link between political literacy and active citizenship has significant implications for education for citizenship as it involves both formal *and* informal contexts for learning and teaching citizenship in order to provide young people with



opportunities for practising active citizenship. The report acknowledges several positive outcomes of involving informal, community-based agencies, including:

- Sharing of experiences and areas of expertise;
- The provision of opportunities for pupils to meet representatives and participate in service learning and community involvement; and
- the coordination and dissemination of materials. (The Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998, p.26).

One of the major criticisms of the Crick Report is associated with the nature of active citizenship that is essentially a depoliticised one which stresses duties and responsibilities of individual citizens to maintain a new social contract between 'minimal' government and 'self-governing' individuals and communities (Landrum, 2000). Linking to T. H. Marshall (1950)'s theory of citizenship, the report clearly underlines "the reciprocity between *rights* and *responsibilities*... on welfare being not just provision by the state but also what people can do for each other in voluntary groups and organisations" (The Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998, p.10, original emphasis). Therefore, the concept of participation is narrowly conceived in a sense of "existing traditions of community involvement and public service" rather than radical traditions of critical action and movement that challenge the *status quo* (Davies, 1999; Faulks, 2006).

Despite these criticisms, the propositions of the Crick Report had been heavily influential in outlining the basic policy direction of education for citizenship in both English and Scottish curriculum. The section below illustrates detailed characteristics the Scottish policy trend in formal education for citizenship, beginning with EfC.

EfC was initially introduced as a cross-curricular theme in 2002. Unlike England, where citizenship was implemented as a statutory subject area in secondary schools, the creation of a separate subject was not seen necessary because existing social studies subjects such as Modern Studies, History, Geography, Religious and Moral Education and Business Studies were

already delivering most elements of relevant lessons of citizenship including political literacy and controversial issues of living in modern society (LTS, 2002; Andrews & Mycock, 2007; Ross, Munn & Brown, 2007; Cowan & McMurtry, 2009).

In this regard, association with traditional light-touch, less-prescriptive design of the Scottish curriculum, EfC was introduced as an overarching aim of Scottish education in general and it is learnt through “experience and interaction with others” by engaging all aspects of young people’s lives including classroom, whole school and wider community (LTS, 2002, p.10). It underlined that citizenship is a “lifelong process”, thus encouraging parental involvement and participation in school’s decision making and development planning through which young people become “active and responsible citizens of both now and later in their lives” (ibid.). Collaboration between schools and community education agencies also was considered importantly because community educators “can bring much by way of expertise and experience to the design and management of opportunities for young people to take real-life issues in their communities” (ibid., p.12), including:

- opportunities for members of the local community to use school facilities;
- classes and support systems for adults and families;
- doing ‘good works’;
- study of the local community;
- creation of an imaginary community;
- international links;
- involvement of the local community in decision making (Munn, 2004, p.4)

The new national curriculum, *the Curriculum for Excellence* also defined ‘responsible citizens’ as one of its key purposes along with “successful learners”, “confident individuals” and “effective contributors” (Scottish Executive, 2004b). The set of values that underpin Scottish citizenship education were claimed to be ‘wisdom, justice, compassion and integrity’, as inscribed in the Mace of the Scottish Parliament (ibid). Developing these

values was viewed importantly in order to help young people “establish their own stances on matters of social justice and personal and collective responsibilities” (ibid., p.11).

The principal aim of EfC was to “develop capability for thoughtful and responsible participation in political, economic, social and cultural life” (LTS, 2002, p.11) Therefore, it entailed four main outcomes. First, *knowledge and understanding* required for “appreciating the need to base opinions, views and decisions on relevant knowledge and on a critical evaluation and balanced interpretation of evidence” (ibid., p.12). Second, *skills and competencies* which involved ‘developing a range of generic skills, including ‘core skills’ that are widely recognised as also being essential for personally rewarding living and for productive employment” (ibid. p.13) Third, *values and dispositions* needed to recognise and respond thoughtfully to values and value judgements that are part and parcel of political, economic, social and cultural life”. Fourth, *creativity and enterprise* that are essential for “thinking and acting creatively” and “making thoughtful and imaginative decisions” (ibid. p.14)

EfC has been subject to many criticisms among academics. For example, some argue that whilst its *laissez-faire* approach may indeed have its advantages (e.g. freedom to tailor the curriculum for a certain group of students), the cross-curricular initiatives have encountered many practical difficulties in schools resulting in a highly uneven, patchy citizenship learning amongst young people (Deuchar, 2003; HMIE, 2006; Cowan & McMurtry, 2009). Others put a more focus on specific ways that it conceptualises concepts of citizenship, community and participation (Lawy & Biesta, 2006; Ross, Munn & Brown, 2007; Biesta, Lawy & Kelly, 2009). Biesta (2011a) summarises these as follows:

- *A strong individualistic tendency* that diminishes a collective notion of citizenship needed for social cohesion and the development of democracy;
- *A broad conception of the domain of citizenship* that over-weighs the social domain rather than the political, therefore depoliticising the concept of citizenship;

- *An a-political emphasis on active citizenship* that encourages civic engagement and involvement in top-down decision-making rather than bottom-up youth activism;
- *A romanticized view of community as sameness* that problematises young people's participation in a diverse, plural democratic society. (Biesta, 2011a, pp.20-28)

Recognising a need for reform, in 2011, Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) introduced a new model of citizenship education, *Developing Global Citizens within the Curriculum for Excellence* (LTS, 2011) or what I refer to as 'Education for Global Citizenship (EGC)'. In this development, 'global citizenship' has become an overriding aim and ideological nodal point of citizenship education (which include three sub-domains of Education for Citizenship, International Education and Sustainable Development Education). The section below links characteristics of EGC to these wider debates on citizenship and politics of educating democratic citizens in Scotland today.

### ***Education for Global Citizenship***

What distinguishes the new model of Education for Global Citizenship (EGC) from the previous model is its focus on a global dimension. LTS notes this as follows:

Global citizenship is a holistic approach to developing the four capacities within learners. It encourages the development of young people as independent, creative and critical thinkers, confident in themselves, secure in their own beliefs and values, committed to active participation in society, respectful of others and willing to find solutions to local and global problems. (LTS, 2011, p.12)

EGC fundamentally aims to develop *knowledge, understanding, skills and values* needed for preparing young Scottish people to become "global citizens, able to take up their place in their worlds, contribute to it confidently,

successfully and effectively, understanding the rights and responsibilities of living and working in a globalised world" (ibid).

The inclusion of a global dimension in citizenship education is not unique to Scotland (see Davies, Evans & Reid, 2005). Nevertheless, EGC represents a significant shift in debates about citizenship, education and democracy. On the one hand, it shows a distinct Scottish take of "the *official* curricular global turn" across the world (Mannion *et al.*, 2011, p.448, original emphasis). Here, EGC mainly serves as a nodal point of various (otherwise disjointed) educational traditions including environmental education, development education and citizenship education (ibid). Associated with ideas led by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as interdependence, global justice, diversity, human rights and sustainable development, EGC has a potential to develop activist citizens who are "(among other things) 'outraged by social injustice' and 'willing to act in order to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place'" (Oxfam, 2006 quoted in Mannion *et al.*, 2011, p.447).

On the other hand, EGC can also pose a threat to democratic citizenship by masking progressive environmental and development agendas under the veil of "a new found citizenship education" of the post-welfare state (Mannion *et al.*, 2011, p.453). "This may lead to role of the 'responsible citizen' being mainly defined in official curricular document in *cultural and economic terms* (i.e. doing work for the economy and doing good work in/for the community)" (ibid.). This view resonates with Lundahl and Olson (2013, p.2) who point out "the neoliberal turn and tighter connections between the state, education and economy". They note that these create new discourse of citizenship with the language of "individual agency — responsibility, enterprise and self-regulation or 'governmentality' — is celebrated at the expense of collective action" (ibid.).

Central to these claims is debates about what it means to be a citizen of a democratic society. As Dewey (1916, p. 87) claims, "democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of a conjoint communicated experience". Therefore, citizenship education

pertaining to the latter vision should extend beyond delivering knowledge and values passed down from above. Instead, it should offer opportunities for learners to share and create real knowledge that empower them. In other words, social purpose should be at the heart of citizenship education *for* democracy.

According to *Developing Global Citizens within the Curriculum for Excellence* (LTS, 2011), EGC entail the following key principles:

- To know, respect and care for the rights, responsibilities, values and opinions of others and understand Scotland's role within the wider world;
- To develop awareness and understanding of engagement in democratic processes and be able to participate in critical thinking and decision making in schools and communities at local, national and international level;
- To understand the interdependence between people, the environment, and the impacts of actions, both local and global;
- To appreciate and celebrate the diversity of Scotland's history, culture and heritage and engage with other cultures and traditions around the world; and
- To think creatively and critically and act responsibly in all aspects of life, politically, economically and culturally. (LTS, 2011, p.14)

EGC is not "a task for a single practitioner, co-ordinator or champion, e.g. the equivalent to the school 'eco-warrior'" but *a whole school vision and approach* "embedded in policy and practice, underpinned by distributed leadership" (ibid., p.20). This means, in classrooms, global citizenship can be adopted "as a rich context for learning in and across the curriculum", hence creating opportunities for *interdisciplinary learning* which is one of the principal aims of the CfE in order to "provide relevant, challenging and enjoyable learning experiences and stimulating contexts to meet the varied needs of children and young people" as well as to "offer and support enriched learning experiences and opportunities for young people's wider involvement in society" by creating chances to work with partners outside schools (The Scottish Government, 2008, p. 21).

In order to create consistent and coherent experiences and outcomes of learning within and outwith the curriculum, EGC proposes three sub-domains of education with “common outcomes and principles” through which different subject areas, extra-curricular programmes and general life at school become organically interconnected with each other (LTS, 2011, p.11). The three sub-domains are:

- *Education for Citizenship* which focuses on “developing children and young people’s sense of rights and responsibilities within communities at local, national and global levels” as well as “fostering informed decision making and the ability to take thoughtful and responsible action, locally and globally”;
- *International Education* which focuses on “preparing children and young people for life and active participation in a global, multicultural society” as well as “developing a knowledge and understanding of the world and Scotland’s place in it”; and
- *Sustainable Development Education* which focuses on “enabling children and young people to appreciate the interdependence of people and the environment and motivating them to live sustainably” as well as “contributing to a fair and equitable society that is living within the environmental limits of our planet, both now and in the future”. (ibid.)

From this perspective, EGC combines two elements. First, a post-national model of “global education” which encompasses values and activities associated with cosmopolitanism, world governance, human rights, climate change and sustainable development (Davies, Evans & Reid, 2005). Second, a national model of “citizenship education” (ibid.) which primarily concern with maintaining or strengthening national identity as well as knowledge and skills required for involvement in public affairs. In anticipation of the referendum for independence of Scotland in 2014, there has been increased emphasis on the national dimension, especially in regard to political literacy and voting. *CfE Briefing 14 — Curriculum for Excellence: Political Literacy* (Education Scotland, 2013b) is a good example of this.

In anticipation of the referendum for independence of Scotland in 2014, there has been increased emphasis on the national dimension, especially in regard to political literacy and voting, associated with the enfranchisement of 16-

and 17-year-old as well as other general concerns on promoting young people's rights as promulgated in the UNCRC (UNICEF UK, 2009) and Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014 (The Stationary Office, 2014). Publications such as *Do the Right Thing* (The Scottish Government, 2009b), its progress report (The Scottish Government, 2012a), *A Guide to Getting It Right for Every Child* (The Scottish Government, 2012b) and *Proposal for the Development of Guidance to Support the GIRFEC provisions in the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014* (The Scottish Government, 2014c) are good examples of this.

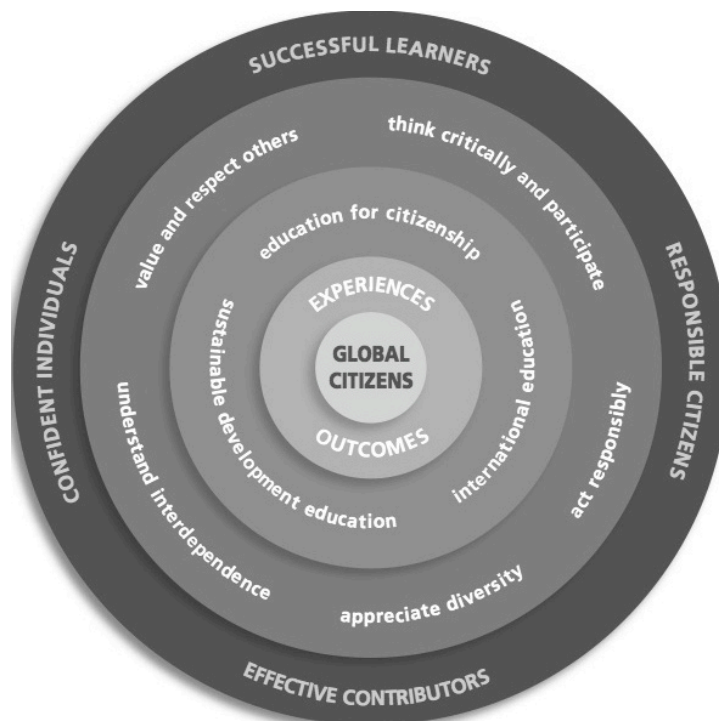
EGC as a whole school approach also means the development of an adequate climate which nourishes young people's learning and exercise of active and responsible global citizenship in all aspects of school life. In this respect, EGC puts an emphasis on an *active, democratic and participatory school ethos* which encourages not only "active learning in real and relevant contexts, collaborative learning which models democracy and engages children and young people as *responsible citizens now*, not just in preparation for the future" (LTS, 2011, p.20, my emphasis). It is also "inclusive and participative" in relation to management and planning the school whereby views and voices of young people and the wider school community (e.g. practitioners, parents and local community) are heard and have real influences on outcomes of decision-making of the school (ibid., p.18). Pupil councils (also known as school and student councils) are regarded as a key mechanism of this as it ensures "meaningful learner voice and genuine participation of children and young people in decision-making processes about learning" (ibid., p.20).

In many ways, EGC directly mirrors these progressive concerns in the wider society and academia about a need for a recognition of young people as *engaged citizens* and their fundamental right to participation as *equal partners* with adults. Its promotion of global citizenship as a whole school approach is a good example of this as the focus on a democratic and participatory school ethos, a learner-centred (active, collaborate, co-operative, outdoor, relevant and creative) approach to learning, global-local connections through



interdisciplinary learning of common principles of its three sub-domains (i.e. Education for Citizenship, International Education and Sustainable Development). Opportunities and choices for personal development within and outwith the curriculum fundamentally foregrounds acknowledgement of young people “as citizens now, not in waiting” and education as a key social institution which raises awareness and realise the full potential of young people and their participation (LTS, 2011, p.14). Figure 3.1 below summarises key characteristics of EGC at schools.

**Figure 3.1: Education for global citizenship in Scotland**



(LTS, 2011, p.10)

### ***Global citizenship in the community***

EGC underlines developing global citizenship essentially as a *lifelong* and *lifewide experiences*, thus learning within and for “real-life contexts” is regarded as important (LTS, 2011, p.13). These will “provide exciting and relevant learning opportunities” for young people and EGC emphasises “partnership working” between schools and civic and civil organisations in

local communities, including “environmental, citizenship and international agencies, organisations and individuals”, and “their expertise, enthusiasm and experiences” are anticipated to “bring an enriching perspective and provide learners with valuable opportunities for community engagement and wider achievement” (ibid.).

In the recent years, there has been an increased focus on the role of community education or Community Learning and Development (CLD) in the context of partnership working or, what is officially referred to as “Putting CLD into CfE” (Education Scotland, 2012b). Partnership working between CLD and CfE is anticipated to bring about positive outcomes in EGC, including “improved life chances for people of all ages, including young people in particular, through learning, personal development and active citizenship” as well as creation of “stronger, more resilient, supportive, influential and inclusive communities” (The Scottish Government, 2012c, p.1).

Promoting *active* and *responsible* citizenship along with supporting transitions, improving health and wellbeing, developing literacy and numeracy, promoting and recognising achievements and community-based learning are regarded as essential responsibilities of CLD and youth work professionals and practitioners (e.g. LTS & YouthLink Scotland, 2009; YouthLink Scotland, 2013). These developments are also related to a number of the National Outcomes set by the Scottish Government (2011a) largely associated with its economic goals.

The role of community education in ensuring objectives of the wider social and educational policies is recorded in several publications. These include *Bridging the Gap* (LTS & YouthLink Scotland, 2009), *Strategic Guidance for Community Planning Partnerships* (The Scottish Government, 2012c), *Framework for Action* (YouthLink Scotland, 2013) and *CfE Briefing 10: Community Learning and Development (CLD) and Partnership Working* (Education Scotland, 2013a).

The extended roles of CLD practitioners, especially youth workers, in linking *informal* experiences of learning in communities and community-based educational programmes directly to *formal* educational agendas of CfE which offers “a common ‘currency’ which may help to develop mutual respect amongst providers and a clarity for the learner of the contribution all the different learning makes to their own personal development” (YouthLink Scotland, 2012, p.1). What needs to be re-emphasised here is that community education, which was formerly related to a ‘bottom up’ process of engaging with people in communities on their own terms as discussed earlier in this chapter, has been firmly recast as a means of delivering communities (e.g. young people) to meet ‘top down’ policy requirements. What this then creates is a dilemma for the community education practitioner subscribing to a philosophy of community education as a democratic project to one which now emphasises a managerial agenda.

Some proponents of global (citizenship) education anticipated that a global dimension would bring about radical changes in citizenship education (e.g. Oxfam GB, 2006; 2008; UNESCO, 2009; 2010; Priestley *et al.*, 2010; Hicks, 2012). These include:

- the involvement of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other civil organisations in policy-making it is anticipated an alternate view on globalisation and global citizenship that is *not* Northern-Western centred should materialise;
- the critical analysis on global and international issues which may send citizenship back to the political sphere; and as a result of these
- education for citizenship may serve to support critical social action and political activism to bring about structural social changes rather than social compliance that maintains the *status quo*.

However, the aspirations aired above are not always reflected in educational policy-making where an odd mixture of ideological preferences may co-exist and compete with each other. For instance, a commitment to neoliberalism is predominant and education is part of the government’s strategy for *economic* reform to initiate “sustainable economic growth” (The Scottish Government, 2011b, p.4) towards a wealthier and more prosperous Scotland. This aim is

furthered at the expense of a more social democratic ideology which inspires learning for democracy. Michael Russell, the former Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning, notes that:

It's making our education system fit for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it's improving our young people's achievements, attainment and life chances...We are preparing them for the future, doing jobs and starting up businesses in areas that don't yet exist, using technologies yet to be invented and brought to the market, we have to, we have to prepare them for an unknown and uncertain world and we have to have the confidence to expect that world will also be exciting and fulfilling. (Education Scotland, 2011)

Here, a tightened connection is observed between the state, education and economy where education is regarded as an essential tool of national economic growth, i.e. *education for work*, by developing "skilled, educated and creative workforce" that is regarded as being essential to creating Scotland's "comparative advantage and to the delivery of sustainable economic growth" (The Scottish Government, 2011b, p.20). In doing so, market and industry have become fundamental partners in educational decision-making as well as policy implementation and practice as *business involvement* is considered to be rational and necessary for the delivery of "education that is responsive, and aligned, to demand" of employers and directly tackling unemployment (including youth unemployment), skills gap and lack of opportunities of the marginalised, especially young people those who are not in employment, education or training (ibid., p.62).

The concept of 'enterprise in education' (EiE) was first introduced in *Determined to Succeed: A Review of Enterprise in Education* (Scottish Executive, 2002). It focuses on developing young people's skills for economic productivity, innovation and entrepreneurship as well as business involvement in education, needed for delivering the government vision of a new more successful, enterprising and prosperous Scotland (ibid., p.6)

Whilst it centres around a traditional notion of business entrepreneurship and education for work, EiE goes beyond a narrow interpretation of

vocationalism in a sense that it encompasses broader opportunities of personal development. Young people will:

- develop enterprising attitudes and skills through learning and teaching across the whole curriculum;
- experience and develop understanding of the world in all its diversity, including entrepreneurial activity and self-employment;
- participate fully in enterprise activities, including those which are explicitly entrepreneurial in nature and in which success is the result of “hands-on” participation; and
- enjoy appropriately focused career education. (Scottish Executive, 2002, p.6)

These four strands of EiE later evolved into two broad approaches and adopted as key features of *the Curriculum for Excellence* in ways that:

- entrepreneurship or skills for learning, life and work as one of the key aims of Scottish education in both formal and informal settings by offering “enterprise activities, projects, and contexts where learners work together to define a problem, identify a solution and take creative, effective action”; and
- “enterprising approaches to learning and teaching at all stages and all areas of learners’ experience”, thus harmonising the key principles of CfE, such as the focus on “challenge and enjoyment, depth and richness of study, active learning strategies and real-world relevance” as well as personalisation and choice. (HMIE, 2008, pp.8-12).

Whilst these mainly focus on individualistic outcomes, i.e. personal attainment and achievement of skills, qualifications and employability, EiE is also anticipated to make positive contributions to local communities and businesses by giving more autonomy and freedom to schools and teachers to innovate and tailor the curriculum, thus being able to make education more “responsive and dynamic” to local needs and demands (The Scottish Government, 2008, p.25)

A similar rhetoric is also observed in EGC which promotes an active, democratic and participatory ethos by employing a variety of pedagogic approaches such as “outdoor learning, active learning, creativity, ICT in education and collaborative and co-operative” which will “make connections

to real-life contexts and recognise children and young people as citizens now, not in waiting” (LTS, 2011, p.13). Working in partnership within and outside schools aims to promote a more coherent and sustainable experiences of global citizenship learning not only as a whole school vision but also a wider commitment towards betterment and improvement of communities and the society as a whole. In reference to a partnership working with a community development project, Planning Aid for Scotland illustrates this:

Working in partnership with Planning Aid for Scotland, town planning representatives and the wider local community, children are actively engaged in improvement planning processes for their own school and local area. Underpinned by innovative teaching methodologies and a range of experiences and outcomes across all curriculum areas, this initiative provides an excellence template for a well-designed approach to interdisciplinary learning. It challenges the children to engage in creative thinking processes in order to propose realistic environmental improvement for the benefit of the whole community (LTS, 2011, p.25).

What is evident here is, as many authors have argued elsewhere (Peters, 2001; Humes, 2002; Deuchar, 2007; McCafferty, 2010), are dual aspects of EiE which attempts to reconcile fundamentally incompatible and contesting ideologies of neoliberalism and (Scottish) egalitarianism. Free market fundamentalism and the welfare state, individual freedom and social justice are put together in “the form of a business enterprise project where pupils work in teams to create, market and sell a product for financial profit and learn about the key concepts of a business”. This is extended to incorporate “... community-based project[s], where they learn about community support structures and how they must anticipate and respond to changing needs, or an environmental project where they develop an aspect of the local environment such as creating and maintaining the school garden or playground, and learn that beneficial change is possible if some individual or group is prepared to take the initiative” (Brownlow *et al.*, 1998 quoted in Deuchar, 2007, p.22).

To some extent, Scotland's approach represents the social transformation associated with the breakdown of post-war consensus on the (Keynesian) welfare state, the rise of market democracy and the emergence of a new responsibilised and depoliticised citizen identity as 'citizen-consumer' existing across late-modern, post-industrial societies such as the UK and USA (Davies, Evans & Reid, 2005). Yet, it may still be unique in a sense that it transforms fundamentally economistic senses of enterprise and entrepreneurship into the social, i.e. *social enterprise* or *social entrepreneurship*. These two concepts revive the collectivistic and communal nature of citizenship that is essential for actions and struggles against inequalities, exclusion and social injustice — that are, direct outcomes of neoliberal capitalism and free market competition.

Encouraging enterprising values — a 'can do, will do' attitude — in our schoolchildren is not just about producing the business people and entrepreneurs tomorrow. It is the route to a more enterprising Scotland, where all our people understand the contribution they can make as citizens, both to society and the economy. And where individuals have the self-confidence and belief in their ability to succeed in whatever they choose. That means it is a fundamental element of ensuring Scotland's future competitiveness. It is also central to our goal of a more inclusive Scotland, where we are narrowing the opportunity gap. (Scottish Executive, 2003, p.2)

Authors such as Deuchar (2007), positively evaluate the alliance of enterprise and citizenship as for its potential to inculcate new forms of *social entrepreneurship* that "encompasses a need for ethical, social and environmental sensitivity" (p.28). For Deuchar, such a broadened understanding of enterprise and entrepreneurship as fundamentally *social* concepts is essential in bringing about a maximal approach to citizenship education embedded in critical social engagement and political activism. Young people are positioned as engaged political agents who are socially-responsible, thus partaking an "active and innovative" role "within a range of contexts" and becoming "aware of their rights and corresponding obligations within their local, national and global community" (ibid.). In this sense young people "will be able to combine individual ambition with a

drive towards social justice, and become exposed to a consultative, participative ethos outside the confines of individual projects" (ibid., pp.xi-xii).

Notwithstanding its limits however, as many critics highlight (McCafferty, 2010; Giroux, 2013), the predominant rhetoric in reality is what Deuchar (2007) refers to as a minimal approach of business enterprise model. For Deuchar, the minimal approach emphasises a narrow understanding of citizenship as formal membership of a nation-state, national identity, 'good' neighbourly behaviour and engagement with formal decision-making processes of liberal democracy and enterprise as business entrepreneurship. In doing so, it prioritises private interests, self-responsibility, competitiveness and profit-making to collective claim-making and social action whereby education is blamed for recession and other related social ills that it (allegedly) failed to create skilled workforce and enterprising culture amongst its citizenry. As a consequence, what is evident is a rise of *neoliberal pedagogy* whereby education primarily aims at "cultural restructuring and engineering based upon the neo-liberal model of the entrepreneurial self — a shift characterised as a moving from a 'culture of dependency to one of 'self-reliance'" (Peters, 2001, p.58).

In many ways, despite its references to social justice, equality and democracy, EGC in Scotland seems to mirror characteristics of neoliberal pedagogy rather than 'learning for democracy'. First, EGC's focus on citizenship as an individualistic notion of personal qualities, abilities and capacities may be not surprising as it is fundamentally embodied within a competency-based model of the curriculum where the curriculum "states specific outcomes which are designed for assessment purposes" (Priestley & Humes, 2010, p.348). The focus is therefore on more behavioural and individual outcomes. The Scottish Government (2008) notes that these attributes and capabilities "can be applied in a range of contexts which will be meaningful and relevant to" each young person (p.23). By doing so, it will offer "a degree of personalisation and choice" (ibid.) It is not that learner-centred, flexible curriculum design is a necessarily a bad thing. But they do



not directly concern democratic citizenship or democracy. These are essentially embedded in collective experiences of sharing personal issues, critically rethinking public agendas and mobilising social action to challenge issues of concern.

It is not to argue the EGC's learner-centred approach, its focus on a degree of flexibility to offer customised experiences and supports or its emphasis on assessment, standard and accountability are necessarily a bad thing; yet, these do not directly concern democracy or democratic citizenship which are essentially embedded in collective experiences of sharing personal issues, critically re-thinking about social and public concerns and mobilising critical social action and political movement to challenge these issues and concerns. Instead, what comes with learner-centredness and the emphasis on personalisation and choice is further responsibilisation of the learner for educating him or herself. In this vein, the individual learner is often accountable, thus blamed for the failure to achieve (standard) outcomes such as a good — active and responsible — citizenship, while the actual conditions of inequalities in resource availability and access, are often marginalised.

Second, EGC focuses on citizenship as an outcome or achievement of learning, rather than a *process* of constant social, cultural and political practices. This creates a false conception of citizenship that a certain (formal and informal) educational trajectory may guarantee the acquisition of citizenship (Priestly *et al.*, 2010; Biesta, 2011a; 2013). As discussed in Chapter 2, young people's political socialisation is a complex process which is influenced by a variety of factors besides schools and community-based education such as family, peer group and formal political culture as well as surrounding social, cultural, political economic environment at local, national and beyond-national levels (Torney-Purta, *et al.*, 2001; Leung, 2006; Schulz *et al.*, 2010). Authors such as Lister *et al.*, (2003), Smith *et al.*, (2005) and Campbell (2006) also note that the impact of inequalities such as social class, poverty, gender, race, ethnicity, disability and sexuality are also strong in situating young people's understanding and practice of citizenship. This is

because cultural and social inequalities embedded within these factors can restrict and marginalise young people's access to fundamental citizenship rights as well as their exercise of democratic claim-making.

Although young people may have equal opportunity for citizenship education, it is naïve to assume that this guarantees equal outcomes in terms of realising youth empowerment and transformative youth participation in practice. The actual social and economic condition that each young person experience should be taken into account when it comes to effective and meaningful citizenship education in schools and in communities. As Biesta (2011a, p.31) remarks, failing to do so “runs the risk of not doing enough to empower young people as political actors who have an understanding of both the opportunities and the limitations of individual political action, and who are aware that real change — change that affects structures rather than operations within existing structures — often requires collective action and initiatives from other bodies, including the state”.

EGC's focus on a whole school approach — ethos and life of a school as a community, responsibilities for all, interdisciplinary learning and opportunities for personal achievement within and outwith the curriculum — partnership-working with CLD and business communities may indeed bring about more fun, consistent and relevant opportunities for citizenship learning in and outside schools. However, it is unclear what kind(s) of citizenship is actually promoted and learnt in schools and community education agencies.

Projects such as Eco-schools, Schools Global Footprint and Rights Respecting Schools are interesting examples which incorporate recommendations from various non-governmental organisations such as Oxfam GB and UNICEF UK into the formalised agendas in school-based global citizenship learning such as:

- Ethical purchasing in place wherever possible;
- Signs and displays immediately convey that citizenship is central to the ethos of the establishment;

- Practitioners and learners are encouraged and enabled to use the outdoors as an extension of the classroom;
- School grounds have been developed as a resource, to support healthy, sustainable lifestyles, e.g. quiet areas, sensory and wilderness gardens, allotments, fit trails, greenhouses, outdoor classrooms;
- A commitment to sustainable development is clear in school infrastructure, e.g. waste and recycling facilities, cycle paths and storage, wind turbines and water harvesting. (LTS, 2011, p.18)

Here, schools are seen as vital agents of change, thus given more autonomy to “embark on this journey [of global citizenship] in its own unique way” but resources such as land/buildings, funding and human resources, essential to realising these agendas in schools are little discussed (ibid.). Moreover, despite the fact that the ideas and recommendations made by different non-governmental organisations do imply their own views and understandings of what it means to be a global citizen, and what needs to be done, EGC conveys global citizen(ship) as a commonly-shared, universal idea.

Yet, as many authors stress (e.g. Davies, Evans & Reid, 2005; Davies, 2006; Shultz, 2007; Schattle, 2008), critical assessment and comparison of underpinning values and ideologies of different notions of global citizenship have crucial implications for education for critical citizenship. It can either challenge or reproduce “a largely parochial and first worldist account of globalisation which ignores the histories of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism” (Matthews & Sidhu, 2005, p.52). From this perspective, EGC’s outcome-driven approach may be seen as problematic as for its pre-set goals and values of citizenship and citizenship learning which undermines processes of learning through participation in ongoing critical social action and political movement *outside* schools.

Third, despite the emphasis on the goal of engaging young people “as responsible citizens now, not just in preparation for future” (LTS, 2011, p.20), EGC’s dominant approach remains largely deficit-oriented. Central to this concern is young people’s rights as equal citizens, particularly their rights to ‘have a say’ in matters affecting their lives, including citizenship learning in

and outside of schools. EGC recognises this as it states that developing global citizens is about “ensuring meaningful learner voice and genuine participation of children and young people in decision-making processes about learning” (ibid.).

A large volume of literature note that in order to substantiate effective and meaningful youth participation, the existing barriers such as power relations that undermine young people’s exercise of rights to participation as well as processes and outcomes of spaces of their participation must be taken into account (Hart, 1992; Fletcher, 2005; Percy-Smith, 2010; Tisdall, 2013). In this respect, Andrea Cornwall’s (2004; 2008) notion of institutionalised, or *invited spaces* of participation is useful as it draw attention to the issues of power imbalances and representation that are prevalent in youth participation, including pupil councils.

In understanding transformative participation, the idea of *empowerment* is pivotal in that unlike institutionalised participation where voices and opinions of participants are merely *involved* or *consulted* by those who create and own spaces of participation, transformative participation inherently seeks to empower people, especially those who are often disadvantaged and excluded, by fundamentally challenging the pre-set agendas, interests and structures of participation. Hence, creating real opportunities not only for making *influence* on outcomes of decision-making but also for the ‘rules of the game’ which reinvents and reclaims essentially democratic spaces of participation (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007).

The point made above resonates with Roger Hart (1992). He points out a number of important requirements for youth participation projects “to be truly labelled as participatory” (ibid. p.11). These include:

- The children [and young people] understand the intentions of the project;
- They know who made the decisions concerning their involvement and why;
- They have a meaningful (rather than ‘decorative’) role; and

- They volunteer for the project after the project was made clear to them (ibid.)

By proposing these requirements, he does not mean that children and young people should be liberated to the level whereby all adults engagement is removed. Instead, he argues that young people's participation should take the existing "power relations and the struggle for equal rights" into consideration (Hart, 1992, p.6).

Positive impacts of a rights-respecting school atmosphere which recognise, value and support young people and their participation in school have been reported in many research findings (Covell, McNeil & Howe, 2009; Cross *et al.*, 2009; Covell, 2010; Children in Scotland & The University of Edinburgh, 2010a;b ; Sebba *et al.*, 2010). These include not only individual benefits for young people, e.g. improved self-esteem, but also collective benefits on the school community as a whole, e.g. extended opportunities for more effective and meaningful pupil participation — that are essential to challenge and overcome the commonly existing barriers to participation in schools authoritarian climate, adultism as well as tokenistic, decorative and other less meaningful forms of youth participation in schools (Fletcher, 2005; Cross *et al.*, 2009; Coburn & Wallace, 2011).

However, realisation of such transformative spaces of participation seem difficult in EGC as it is more concerned with a tame version of active and responsible participation. In schools, this is mainly limited to individual achievement of *excellence* such as "learning portfolios, personal profiles and reports" (LTS, 2011, p.19). Outside schools, taking initiatives in community-based service learning such as the Duke of Edinburgh Scheme, John Muir Award and ASDAN (Award Scheme Development and Accreditation Network) are seen key to "achieve personal success" and develop an ability to "take on leadership roles" within both schools and wider society (ibid.). What is seen here is reformulating a notion of an ideal citizen in reference to vocabularies of neoliberal ethics such as ambition, 'can-do' attitude, leadership, self-management as well as social entrepreneurship and

voluntarism. Similarly formatted languages are also evidence in policy documents of EiE such as *Determined to Succeed* (Scottish Executive, 2002), *Improving Enterprise in Education* (HMIE, 2008) and *Building the Curriculum 4: Skills for Learning, Skills for Life and Skills for Work* (The Scottish Government, 2009a).

While employing an explicitly upbeat and futuristic tone, EGC further responsiblise young people's citizenship in a sense of community-based service learning and other accredited learning opportunities to enhance their life skills and employability, rather than empowerment and critical capacities needed for participation in democracy. In this perspective, the current challenge for citizenship education is to reclaim a social purpose in order to create a new kind of politics that is grounded in critical political agency and collective struggle. Such a transformation should involve working *with* young people as co-contributors and equal partners, valuing real conditions for experiences of young people as *engaged* citizens, rather than apprentice citizens.

## Discussion

This chapter examined citizenship education in policy in Scotland as a contested political domain where conflicting and contradicting aims and approaches co-exist. The focus on acquisition of political literacy and formal (civic/political) engagement with the existing systems and procedures of democracy foreground the notion of *youth deficit* which creates a perceived need for official educational intervention for remoralisation and resocialisation of young people as 'good' — caring, knowledgeable and hard-working — citizens. This resonates with the idea of active citizenship promoted under the Thatcherite government's New Right ideology in the 1980s and 1990s which emphasised responsible and self-regulating a *citizen-consumer*. Voluntary work and community involvement was viewed as quintessential characteristics of a good citizen whereas the state the state had

been increasingly withdrawing its own responsibilities for providing welfare and public services.

Furthermore, in the current climate of economic crisis and resultant politics of austerity of the UK Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government, the dominance of neoliberal ethics persists, stressing young people's own responsibilities and efforts to get into the fiercely competitive job market and get on with their lives. In this context, education in both formal and informal settings is often "merely used as scapegoats for economic decline" and related social problems as a policy quick fix "in the light of being unable to reform anything else" (Davies *et al.*, 2001, p.263). Many authors critically observe that the introduction of competency-based approach as seen in *the Curriculum for Excellence* and enterprise educations as examples of this (Apple, 1993; Davies *et al.*, 2001; Peters, 2001; Humes, 2002; Wilkinson, 2006; McCafferty, 2010).

It is not to argue that economic contribution is not an important issue for education; but the ideal of economically-competent, profit-making, self-managing *private* individuals is fundamentally disconnected from the inherent social ideals of education. Learning *for* democracy can potentially involve educational sites as public spheres where socially responsible and critically competent young people share their private troubles and generate collective actions towards making of substantive democracy (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Biesta, 2011a).

It is often believed that in Scotland, the neoliberal-driven rhetoric of austerity that 'there is no alternative (TINA)' (Cameron, 2013) is relatively downplayed compared to England. This may be true to an extent in relation to its people, civil society and the government which identify egalitarianism and social democracy at the centre of Scottish national identity and Scottish nationalism (The Scottish Government, 2011c; Curtice & Ormston, 2012; Curtice, 2013; Mooney, 2014). Yet, others argue that there is still a strong presence and adherence to neoliberalism in Scotland (Scott & Mooney, 2009; Maxwell, 2009; Davidson, 2010; McCafferty, 2010). As a matter of fact,

Gordon Brown (former prime minister) and Douglas Alexander (former secretary of state) note that:

What [Scots] found most unacceptable about Thatcherite Britain was not its commitment to enterprise — that would indeed have been strange from the country of James Watt and Andrew Carnegie — but its lack of commitment to social justice (Brown & Alexander, 1998)

From a similar stance, Davidson (2010, p. ii) also notes that “the word may be absent, but [neoliberal] ideology is ever-present” in all domains of Scottish society including its nationhood, national identity and policy-making (Davidson, 2010, p.ii). For instance, Michael Russell, the former Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning of Scotland, puts a new vision of educational policies as the following:

[Scottish education] nurtures the next generation of well-rounded, highly skilled and educated Scots who will be at the very heart of our nations’ future success, and Scottish education will result in sustainable economic growth in a more successful country where everyone can thrive in a globalised world. (Education Scotland, 2010)

In this regard, education is largely defined as part of the government’s economic imperatives to develop adaptive and self-managing entrepreneur citizens to respond rapidly changing conditions of globalised knowledge economy. It seems that citizenship education in Scotland seems to have departed far away from the ‘democratic renewal’ and ‘values and citizenship’ that were key agendas of the government in the aftermath of devolution in the late 1990s and early 2000s. LTS (2002) reminds of this as follows:

The advent of the Scottish Parliament has encouraged a fresh focus on the importance of people living in Scotland being able to understand and participate in democratic processes. If greater national autonomy is to be matched by an enhanced sense of social and political responsibility in the population, young people need opportunities to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes that will allow them to take that responsibility (LTS, 2002, p.6)



Martin (2003) notes that the meaningful democratic citizenship education should entail “two essential prerequisites of democratic life” that are: “the capacity for scepticism” and “the possibility of dissent” (p.573). Yet, instead of these ideals for democracy, what seems to drive citizenship education in Scotland currently is a neoliberal agenda of competition and free market politics through self-governing citizen-entrepreneurs. Citizenship learnt through economically-driven curriculum should be cautiously reassessed as it depoliticise the notion of citizenship which is essentially social and collective. Moreover, it creates a false notion of citizenship as being an outcome of certain educational trajectories rather than a process in continuum: that is ‘a lived experience’.

As discussed in Chapter 2, contemporary young people are not apathetic or disinterested but essentially alienated from the adult-centred spaces of formal political and civic participation as they fail to include and represent young people’s qualitatively different post-modern and post-materialistic values and concerns. As a result of this, political scepticism is widespread amongst young people, nevertheless some are actively engaged with democracy *outside* the formal systems and processes of liberal democracy. In order to make citizenship education more relevant to the lives of people, closing a gap between the progressive rhetoric and less progressive practice is an urgent task to reconnect EGC to learning *for* critical democracy.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, by focusing on key policy documents in the areas of community education and schooling, I have argued that the increasing convergence of these areas of educational practice that have been partly brought about by trends in the relationship between state, society and citizenship education. The devolved Scottish Parliament led to a number of policy initiatives relevant to education for citizenship, however, the version of democracy that was being promoted through policy has shifted

dramatically. In the context of community education the original social democratic ideology of a liberal pluralist society, which underpinned the Alexander Report, has largely been superseded in the new ideological mixture of neoliberalism, managerialism and responsible citizenship which seems to be more characteristic of current policy trends. The transition of community education from a service to an approach was partly a result of these trends and reinforced them by bringing community increasingly into the context for educational intervention to address the concerns and priorities of government rather than the concerns of people.

The relationship between the formal sector of schooling and the informal sector of community education has been more closely harnessed in these developments in policy. Whilst this can create opportunities for engagement in productive ways it should be evident that the relationship between these sectors is far from equal. The formal sector of education has greater status and resources and is therefore likely to be a more powerful partner in any collaboration. The radical rhetoric of community education with its philosophy rooted in 'bottom up' processes of working with people is clearly much more difficult to achieve in this new policy configuration.

However, the above trends might enable a focus on global citizenship to be a space for critical and social purpose education; in the context of young people as 'everyday makers' (see Chapter 2, pages 50-1) this might open up alternative spaces for citizenship education to flourish and inspire. Before introducing the empirical focus of this study it is necessary, however, to address the methodological principles and procedures which informed this study, the research design and how I went about gathering empirical evidence of citizenship education in practice in both school and community.

## **Chapter 5**

# **Methodology**

### **Introduction**

This chapter outlines a small-scale, qualitative research design I employed to investigate young people's experiences of citizenship learning and education in two main sites: a school and a local community. In order to obtain 'thick', insightful descriptions of the young people's experiences of citizenship learning and their participation in society, I conducted semi-structured interviews with two groups of young people aged between 14 and 19. I also interviewed key personnel involved in providing education for citizenship in both locations. The data collection was completed between February and June 2012. Rigorous transcription and analytical work involved a thematic network analysis, incorporating inter-site and cross-site comparisons to probe overlaps and differences between views and perspectives of adult practitioners and those of young people as well as between formal and informal citizenship education experiences.

The following research questions are the focus of the study:

- What are the views and perspectives of practitioners and young people about formal, school-based citizenship education?
- What are the views and perspectives of practitioners and young people about informal, community-based citizenship education?
- To what extent do formal and informal citizenship education involve complementary and/or contradictory practices?

## **Epistemological and ontological stance**

As widely acknowledged in the academic literature, research objectives, theoretical frameworks, research questions and research methods are interconnected and a range of strategies and methods employed in collecting and making sense of data essentially represent a set of beliefs, worldview or “paradigm” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.5) associated with the researcher’s ontological (the nature of reality or of a phenomenon) and epistemological stance (the nature and state of knowledge). The role of power is particularly important in constructing reality and shaping meanings and interpretations of reality, taking into account the following:

- a) politics and interests shape multiple beliefs and values, as these beliefs and values are socially constructed, privileging some views of reality and under representing others;
- b) how we come to understand these multiple realities is influenced by communities of practice who define what counts as acceptable ways of knowing, and affecting the relationships between the researcher and the communities which are being researched. (Mertens, 2007 cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p.33).

Therefore, methodology (how we research complex, multiple realities) is far from being neutral. Instead, it is heavily influenced by the political and ideological contexts within which research participants *and* the researcher are situated. This means that the purpose of social research “is not merely to give an account of society and behaviour but to realize a society that is based on

equality and democracy for all its members” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p.31).

This being said, it is important to note that, by adopting a critical approach, I do not intend to completely deny objectivity of knowledge, or undermine its subjective meanings and the different interpretations of individuals. Instead, as Freire (2005[1970]) highlights, I acknowledge that objectivity and subjectivity are not separate ways of knowing, but should be interconnected with each other in the process of social transformation. It is because social transformation involves a “radical demand for the objective transformation of reality” to combat (objectively verifiable) experiences and relationships of inequality and social injustice. The role of subjectivity is crucial in this because “[t]o deny the importance of subjectivity in the process of transforming the world and history is... to admit the impossible: a world without people” (Freire, 2005[1970], p.50). For Freire, “this objectivistic position is as ingenuous as that of subjectivism, which postulates people without a world. World and human beings do not exist apart from each other, [but] they exist in constant interaction” (ibid.).

It is important to note that my argument is not that existing theories are not important. As observed in Chapter 3, theories of citizenship education have been influential in my research by informing the primary theoretical framework as well as the research questions. However, my intention is not to test or experiment these theories, but to *understand* the specific meanings and relevant knowledge of the social world and the reality of young people’s living, thinking and acting as citizens in Scotland today.

Taking this perspective, my research design is associated with principles of cultural studies and critical ethnography (Cohen, Lawrence & Manion, 2011, pp.243-6). The techniques and methods involved in research design are not neutral but *political*, intending not merely to accept, romanticise and reproduce the existing power dynamics and dominant worldview but to deconstruct, critique and transform them (Griffiths, 1998; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This study takes power, control and

potential social exploitation as fundamentally “problematic, and to be changed, rather than simply to be interrogated and discovered (Thomas, 1993 quoted in Cohen, Lawrence & Manion, 2011, p.243).

From this viewpoint, I also agree with Griffiths’s claims that:

- firstly, “educational research lays no claim to abstract neutrality or to being a curiosity-driven search for knowledge... Rather, in the long run (and sometimes in the short run), it is action-oriented. So it follows that educational research is not necessarily research *about* education or its processes. Rather, it is research which has an *effect on* education”;
- secondly, “educational research is aiming not just at improvement, but also at personal and political improvement” because “education is an area of research in which any changes that are sought are ones in which *both* individual (personal and ethical) *and* collective (public and political) changes are implicated” (Griffiths, 1998, p.67, original emphasis).

To put it differently, I believe in the social responsibility of educational research that it can be “sites for *critical conversations* about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalization, freedom and community” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.3, my emphasis).

This view resonates with Antonio Gramsci’s critique of education in its embodiment of cultural domination which represents the hegemonic worldview or common-sense and (cultural) struggle, whereas counter-hegemony, i.e. a new world vision, is conceived, disseminated and critiqued in order to bring about progressive social transformation towards building a more democratic society. In this perspective, Gramsci (1999) critically observes that the dominant, functionalist approach to (formal) education in modern industrial society focuses on the reproduction of the existing social structure through the development of *merely* useful skills that are primarily for economic production and the maintenance of the dominant social structure (pp.134-5). He suggests that the development of genuine intellectual abilities, that is, based on critical consciousness, is essential to prepare ordinary citizens to effectively participate in democracy. He puts this in the following terms:

...democracy, by definition, cannot mean merely that an unskilled worker can become skilled. It must mean that every "citizen" can "govern" and that society places him, even if only abstractly, in a general condition to achieve this. Political democracy tends towards a coincidence of the rulers and the ruled (in the sense of government with the consent of the governed), ensuring for each non-ruler a free training in the skills and general technical preparation necessary to that end. (Gramsci, 1999, pp.186-7)

Paulo Freire (1998; 2005[1950]) also makes a similar point in his critique of the "banking" concept of education, in which learners are passive recipients or empty vessels, simply to be filled with the dominant knowledge of the world as it *is* rather than imagining the world as it *could be*. Freire writes:

...the oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social action apparatus, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of "welfare recipients." They are treated as individual cases, as marginal persons who deviate from the general configuration of a "good, organized and just" society. The oppressed are regarded as the pathology of the healthy society, which must therefore adjust these "incompetent and lazy" folk to its own patterns by changing their mentality. These marginal need to be "integrated", "incorporated", into the healthy society that they have "forsaken". (Freire, 2005[1950], p.74)

For Freire, the banking approach to education is inherently *dehumanising* as it negates learners' freedom to develop critical self-consciousness, or "conscientization", through which individuals become *subjects* of history-making, rather than remaining oppressed as objects of a given destiny (ibid). Freire states that "our being in the world is far more than just "being". It is a "presence," a "presence" that is relational to the world and to others... [and] that can reflect upon itself, that knows itself as presence, that can intervene, can transform, can speak of what it does, but that can also take stock of, compare, evaluate, give value to, decide, break with, and dream" (Freire, 1998, pp.25-6).

From this perspective, he further emphasises educational practice as "humanity's ontological vocation" (ibid., p.25), that our understanding of the

world and reality is not neutral, value-free or objective, but situated within a socially, culturally and historically-negotiated well of knowledge; and that a critical education should not merely address the ambiguity of the 'official' common-sense knowledge, but also enable learners to develop the inner capacity to liberate themselves and to become active participants of progressive social transformation.

My ontological and epistemological stances are heavily influenced by Freire's critical approach to being, knowledge, education and the world. In essence, I avoid any kind of determinism, but also acknowledge Freire's view that "we know ourselves to be *conditioned* but not *determined*" and "[h]istory is time filled with possibility and not inexorably determined — that the future is *problematic* and not already decided, fatalistically" (ibid., p.26, original emphasis). Educational practice is not simply an individual or psychological activity but is associated with a collective responsibility for the creation of democratic citizens equipped with critical capacities to rethink the *status quo* and reclaim the kind of democratic society —equal, inclusive and socially-just — that we want to live in.

To translate this into my research interests, I am aware of ongoing efforts and progress made during the past few decades at various levels, from policy-making, curriculum-planning, to everyday practice both in schools and communities, to recognise young people *as* engaged citizens, with a right to have a say in democratic decision-making. Nevertheless, in reality, such critical voices are still in the minority. Instead, the deficit approach continues to dominate young people's citizenship learning and practice (see Chapter 3). There is a growing body of literature, in and outside the academic community, which shows that young people *are* actively engaged with community and politics. These narratives tell us, however, that young people, rather than being supported or protected, feel more demotivated and displaced by society, democracy and education, being treated as unwanted or undeserving; "disposable" citizens in Giroux's terms (2013).



My primary research intention is to give a voice to young people (and adults) so that they can articulate the unique ways that young people in Scotland today engage with, negotiate and make sense of citizenship learning, participation and democracy, as socially and politically marginalised citizens. Hence, my research design primarily focused upon the most practical and useful means of gathering, analysing and reporting authentic recollections of a small number of selected young people who were *actively* involved in citizenship learning in school and the community.

## **The research design**

### ***A comparative approach***

Since Almond and Verba (1989[1963]), the comparative approach has been widely adopted by researchers in studying citizenship education at an international and European level (e.g. Torney, Oppenheim & Frenen, 1975; Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Blee & McClosky, 2003; Birzea *et al.*, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Nelson & Kerr, 2006; Schulz *et al.*, 2010; Eurydice, 2012) as well as at a local and national (Scottish/UK) level (e.g. Maitles, 2000; 2009; Maitles, Cowan & Butler, 2006; Ross, Munn & Brown, 2007; Cowan & McMurtry, 2009; Sturman *et al.*, 2012). Kerr (2010, p.215) notes that this growing body of studies on citizenship education during the past few decades coincides with a renewed interest in citizenship education in itself, as a way to inform more effective policy-making, policy implementation and practice of citizenship education. Whilst the vast majority of these studies centre on cross-national or cross-cultural comparisons, the IEA Civic Education Study (e.g. Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Schultz *et al.*, 2010) as their archetypal examples, my research specifically focuses upon *cross-sectional* data gathered from two main sites of citizenship education within Scotland, to enhance empirical knowledge and understanding of what is taught and learnt in formal and informal citizenship education settings.

In addition, many of the aforementioned studies are based on well-organised quantitative methods, usually surveys, questionnaires, and/or structured interviews, where the unique nuances of individual accounts are often unavoidably overlooked or omitted in the complex processes of extracting, analysing and generalising from a large volume of data in order to make it comparable cross-sectionally or cross-nationally. By doing so, these studies often ‘test out’ *what* works (and what does not) rather than *how* and *why* certain citizenship ideals and values are *chosen* to be delivered by practitioners and are experienced by young people.

The central purpose of my research is to reveal and give insight into these undocumented aspects of citizenship education by exploring the similar and dissimilar characteristics of two distinct sites: formal (school) and informal (community). It investigates the extent to which school, community and learning in general, as major factors of young people’s political socialisation, affect their understanding and engagement with citizenship in relation to other factors, e.g. family, peer group, political culture and the wider historical, social, cultural and economic environment at local, national and international level. For this reason, my research design is essentially guided by a qualitative approach which focuses on “thick descriptions” (Geertz, 1973), derived from narratives of individuals who are situated *within* a unique social, cultural and political context. It seeks to elucidate unique ways in which they interact, construct and reformulate meaning-s and experience-s of citizenship. Kvale rightfully suggests that:

Common to such [qualitative] approaches is that they seek to unpick how people construct the world around them, what they are doing or what is happening to them in terms of that are meaningful and that offer rich insight. Interactions and documents are seen as ways of constituting social processes and artefacts collaboratively (or conflictively). All of these approaches represent ways of meaning, which can be reconstructed and analysed with different qualitative methods that allow the researcher to develop (more or less generalizable) models, typologies, theories as ways of describing and explaining (or psychological) issues. (Kvale, 2010, pp.x-xi)

For this reason, I positioned young people, not as research objects, but as *experts* of their own citizenship understandings and experiences, capable of making informed choices to share their stories with others by partaking in this research.

To collect in-depth data, I focused on semi-structured interviews with a small, concentrated sample of young people in the two chosen sites. Adult practitioners' accounts were very useful to triangulate with the young people's views and perspectives in relation to what is actually taught and said in the name of citizenship education. As the findings in the following three chapters demonstrate, my analysis focused on detailing the multiple realities of young people's citizenship learning and practice as an embodiment of citizenship as a contextualised and contested concept. The section below elaborates on the synthesised process of qualitative strategies and methods employed for my research design in detail, from sampling, data collection (via semi-structured interviews) and data analysis.

### ***Sampling***

I adopted a non-probability, *purposive sampling strategy* in order to gain insightful, in-depth data (Patton, 2002; Flick, 2007; Bryman, 2008; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Silverman, 2011) on each young person's unique experience of becoming an adult citizen in different educational settings. According to Patton, "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting *information-rich cases* for studying in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research (Patton, 1990 cited in Merriam, 1998, p.61, original emphasis).

My research participants, both young people and adult practitioners, were what Patton (2002) refers to as "critical cases": that is, a small number of important cases that are likely to "yield the most information and have the

greatest impact on the development of knowledge” (p.236). In other words, the samples were chosen in anticipation of them offering valuable, instructive qualitative data, fit for the specific purpose of the research, i.e. thick descriptions, which may not have been possible if working with randomised samples with little knowledge and experiences of citizenship education or young people’s engagement with wider society.

All young people and adult practitioners who participated in my research were *actively* engaged with citizenship learning in each setting and for some, across settings. The sampling process began with contacting adult practitioners in the school and community, based on personal acquaintances made during my Master’s programme and the first year of my PhD. In this way, I was able to recruit 5 adult practitioners — 3 in the school (a Modern Studies teacher, a History teacher and a school librarian) and 2 in the community (community educators) — who were directly involved in working with young people in and outside of school.

Engaging with practitioners was important for several reasons. Firstly, their insights into official curricular policies would provide me with up-to-date information about key educational, social, political and other citizenship-related agendas promoted in policy-making and policy implementation. Secondly, practitioners’ views and opinions on young people and their citizenship learning would offer preliminary pilot data, useful for constructing interview settings and questions for young people as well as triangulating their responses. Thirdly, practitioners’ accounts were crucial in terms of the comparative perspective of the research, i.e. in order to examine overlaps and differences between what practitioners do and what young people actually learn in each setting which would highlight challenges and dilemmas of current citizenship education approaches.

For the young people, I adopted an opportunistic snowball or chain-referral method for its flexibility (Bryman, 2008; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). In order to gain detailed insights into young people’s experiences of citizenship learning and participation, I needed a specific *purposive* group of

young people who were actively participating in citizenship education in each setting. Whilst self-identification of 'I am interested in or actively involved in citizenship programmes' was important, by employing chain-referral sampling, I was able to ensure that all young people who volunteered to participate in the research possessed a sufficient level of knowledge and experience of citizenship learning and participation, which was recognised not only by each individual himself or herself but also by other research participants.

At the initial stage, the adult practitioners played a key role in establishing contact with a small group of young people in classes and programmes they were involved with, and additional young people were invited through being introduced by their peers who were already taking part in the research. In this way, I succeeded in interviewing a total of 21 young people aged between 14 and 19 — 11 in school and 10 in the community — who shared their stories of citizenship learning as well as their experiences of participation in politics and society.

The following section expands in more detail on the logic behind the selection of the sites and the participants.

### ***Site selection***

The research was conducted in two main sites: a state sector secondary school and a community setting in the central belt of Scotland. Before I move onto the detailed profile of the selected sites, it is important to note that they were not chosen in a sense of *either* formal *or* informal practice. Instead, by working with the school, I sought to collect data embodied in particular ways of teaching and learning constituted by a relatively restricted and formalised curriculum structure and agenda. In contrast, the community was a site principally created by the voluntary commitment and participation of a group of young people with a degree of control and flexibility in the choice

of specific objectives or the content of learning which reflected, and was responsive to, their demands. Nevertheless, in respect of the recent policy imperatives of the partnership between a school and the local community (discussed in Chapter 4), it was anticipated that, to a certain degree, the two sites would include elements of informal and formal learning. The degree to which the relationship between the formal and informal contexts exists in practice, however, differs greatly in different schools and communities. Therefore, the main priority in the selection of the site for this research was to collect rich empirical data with a potential to offer authentic accounts of what such a partnership between the formal and informal learning contexts might entail in practice and the extent to which it might influence or shape young people's experience of citizenship learning and participation.

A state school, rather than a private school, was regarded as being more appropriate for the purpose of the study because: firstly, private schools in Scotland have relative freedom in their curriculum design and implementation. Involving private schools might have made it harder to explore the 'common' influences and experiences of the national curriculum on young people's citizenship learning and practice. Secondly, in regard to the high tuition fees that private schools charge, the pupils attending these schools seemed to offer more atypical, non-representative samples which, therefore, might have been problematic in terms of data comparability. Besides these theoretical reasons, practical factors such as convenience of transportation as well as effectiveness of time and expense in travel were crucial to my decision to work with a state school in a city.

The school was located in a culturally diverse area with a relatively high population of ethnic minority groups as well as immigrants from Eastern Europe. At the time of data collection, 469 students were registered, more than twenty percentage of whom were from ethnic minority groups [School data<sup>5</sup>]. Taking into account this rich cultural diversity, the school placed an emphasis on multicultural education, particularly on issues of anti-racism,

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<sup>5</sup> All referencing information associated with the research sites were anonymised as either School data or Community data for confidentiality.

anti-bullying, inclusion and community cohesion. During the past few decades, the school's innovative and proactive approach to multicultural education had been reported in many local and national newspapers and research papers as well as curriculum documents such as *Education for Citizenship in Scotland: A Paper for Discussion and Development* (LTS, 2002). Although the choice of the school was in some respects opportunistic, it was a positive choice to represent the official curriculum of Education for Global Citizenship (EGC), in practice.

As well as the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural population of the school and the surrounding area, there was recognition of the existence of other social issues such as deprivation, relative poverty and a particular social class culture. The school's broad curriculum combined basic academic subjects with vocational training and work placements, especially for pupils in their senior years (S5 and S6). Recognising social class as a crucial factor in educational inequality, potentially marginalising the learning experience and outcome of those from disadvantaged backgrounds and tackling related inequality issues, of both social class and multiculturalism, were emphasised as important responsibilities of the practitioners as well as the school community as a whole.

The school focused on traditionally undervalued, vocational learning as much an "equal" and "equivalent" experience and outcome of education as traditional academic attainment, providing a wide range of courses giving opportunities for learning vocational and other transferable skills [School data]. More work-related learning was seen with the school's focus on *enterprise education*, which put an emphasis on values and abilities such as "an enterprising attitude", "resilience", "self-reliance" and "ability to communicate in different ways and in different settings" to educate its students to be *effectively contributing citizens*. The school's successful approach to enterprise education has been effective; its students won first prize in a major UK-wide competition for financial challenges and as a result of this was chosen as one of the schools in Scotland to promote a new national careers site for young people.

Another important aspect of the school was its provision of extra-curricular activities, or what was commonly referred to as the Wider Achievement Opportunities (WAOs). These included a variety of formally organised, national programmes such as the John Muir Project, the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, Amnesty International, Eco School Project as well as informal, school-based programmes such as sport activities, drama, art, craft and music clubs, volunteering opportunities in the local community and a global citizenship learning programme called the Kenyan Partnership Project. Whilst some of these were simply leisure-based, many offered opportunities for 'accredited learning' which was regarded as important for improving future employability, by both practitioners and pupils of the school.

From this perspective, the school's focus on citizenship education and related activities seemed to be largely instrumental in purpose, e.g. being about preparation for work, rather than for purely civic, political or democratic purposes. In fact, as was repeated in the school's newsletters, its rhetoric of citizenship education often resonated with that of the official policy-making of EGC in terms of its emphasis on a particular positive, upbeat and 'can-do' attitude in order to become *responsible citizens* who "continue to be *thrive, improve, achieve and contribute*" [School data, my emphasis].

The last noteworthy aspect of the school's approach to citizenship education was its role as a particular type of 'community school', which in principle situated it at the heart of community life and community learning and development (CLD) projects in the local area. For example, it provided on-site adult learning programmes including literacy (English) courses such as English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), computer and other employability skills classes as well as leisure-oriented courses such as sports, health, art and crafts. The school was also a venue for community meetings and town fairs where local residents and representatives gathered, interacted, shared issues and, at times, made decisions about local issues. The school's role in this respect seemed to result in a positive impact on its provision of citizenship education, by creating direct access to the 'public



sphere' where students and practitioners gained first-hand experience and knowledge about important social issues.

According to an official report by one of the education authorities [School data], the school's role as a community school was assessed positively for its efforts to actively respond to the so-called 'bottom-up' demands of adult (and some young) local residents to meet basic educational needs in order to help tackle some of the fundamental social issues of their community including unemployment, social inequalities and social cohesion.

Nevertheless, as Chapter 6 will demonstrate, there seemed to be a perceived gap between the school's self-assessment, and to an extent the official records, of its success as a community school and that of its practitioners and students, who rarely recognised their citizenship learning and practice in relation to the school or the community. Hence, whilst remaining largely affirmative about the school's achievement in the past, many pointed out that there might still be room for improvement in delivering a more effective and meaningful citizenship education for young people.

In respect of looking at the more 'informal' nature of community engagement, for a community setting I chose a more flexible approach, of working with several communities in a large council area, located in central Scotland. I decided to work with a local authority community learning and development (CLD) team with whom I had already established close contact previously, because access and information were readily available.

During the first year of my PhD, I made several informal visits to the CLD team to observe and learn about citizenship education in the community in practice and became involved, unofficially, with their 'learning for democracy' project for young people. This included activities such as pupil council elections and training sessions, voter registration campaigns as well as the Youth Congress. This was a fully constituted youth-led voluntary organisation made up of representatives from schools and other youth agencies from various communities throughout the council area. Although often unplanned and informal, these visits proved to be very productive for

my research as they not only provided me with valuable insights into community education but also gave me crucial opportunities to build rapport with key professionals who had knowledge and experience of youth work and other community-based citizenship activities. I also made contact with a group of knowledgeable young people who had experience of citizenship learning through community engagement.

It is important to note that the communities I studied were relatively small and rural compared to the school setting. However, this environment turned out to be surprisingly advantageous as it contributed to the creation of a lively and invigorating community spirit which seemed to have positive impacts on local youth and their deeper sense of belonging, connectedness and social responsibility. Compared with the school it was relatively difficult to manage access, time, monetary resources and travel because of the remoteness of the research sites and lack of public transportation. However, thanks to the help and advice I received from the research participants and local residents, data collection with the community was unexpectedly smooth and trouble free.

One of the key characteristics of the community was its extremely small (0.075%) population of minority ethnic groups and foreign nationals, especially in comparison to the national average of 3.633%. Multicultural-related social inequality issues seemed fairly rare in the community. In fact, on only a handful of occasions did I encounter non-white Scottish people in the community during my few years of on-and-off visits, usually at tourist attractions and shopping centres, and once in the youth forum.

Another noteworthy characteristic was its focus on economic re-development. Since the 1970s, the community had gone through radical changes in its economic and social conditions as a result of the demise of traditional heavy industries including coal mining, and manufacturing businesses which had moved overseas. Despite policy intervention to restructure its industry towards service-oriented economic development, unemployment and related social problems such as poverty had been

consistent key economic and social issues. Most recently, a company which used to be one of the largest employers in Scotland closed down, resulting in thousands of job losses in neighbouring areas. At the time of data collection, the number claiming Job Seekers Allowance was estimated to be as high as 4.3%, similar to the Scottish national average of 4.2% but higher than the UK rate of 3.8% [Community data]. The gap between different areas of the community was significantly large as well with a difference of almost 8% between the most affluent and the least affluent areas (9.7% and 1.2% respectively).

Youth unemployment in the community was also higher than the Scottish national average as well as the school catchment area (7.9% and 5.7% respectively) [Community data]. With regard to the Scottish Government's announcement, made in the same year, that there has been "the biggest fall in 20 years" in youth unemployment and "Scotland now has a lower headline (16+) unemployment rate and lower youth (16-24) unemployment rate than the UK as a whole" (The Scottish Government, 2013), it was not surprising to see many policy measures being introduced at national and local council levels to resolve youth unemployment and related social issues, e.g. Access 2 Employment, More Choices, More Chances (MCMC), Post-16 Transitions and Moving Forward, as well as the setting up of the Community Planning Partnership and the Community Safety Unit.

As Chapter 7 will illustrate, these broad changes in the economic and social environment played a powerful role in shaping and determining the particular context of policy-making whereby employability agendas took precedence over other citizenship agendas, such as youth participation, directly affecting community educators' practice as well as young people's opportunities for democratic citizenship learning. During the period of the data collection, the CLD team and their work underwent a restructuring including restrictions imposed on resource allocation including time, budget and human resources. This resulted in the discontinuation of the 'learning for democracy' programmes which had run for the previous 10 years. The Youth Congress remained intact, yet council support declined so

significantly that it was supported by only one community educator, who also held responsibility for many other projects, rather than a team.

## ***Participants***

The empirical data was gathered through interviewing 26 “knowledgeable people” (Ball 1990 cited in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.15) who possessed unique in-depth knowledge about citizenship issues, young people’s citizenship learning and their experiences of civic and political participation in each research site. Table 5.1 depicts a breakdown of the research participants of the school and community.

**Table 5.1: Research Participants**

	School		Community	
A number of participants	Practitioners	Young people	Practitioners	Young people
	3	11	2	10
Sub total	14		12	
Total	26			

In the school, a total of 14 individuals volunteered. Table 5.2 below outlines their profile (page 160).

Three of those interviewed were key teachers of citizenship education in the school. Under the framework of the *Curriculum for Excellence*, citizenship is taught as a cross-curricular theme; therefore inviting both teachers and other school staff was appropriate. Mr. Ferguson in History and Mr. Campbell in Modern Studies had citizenship at the heart of their subject fields, hence it was anticipated that their insights would offer useful data to enhance my understanding of citizenship education in the school. Mrs. Duncan, the school librarian, was referred to by both of the aforementioned teachers during their interviews for her unique experience with various citizenship programmes and activities outside the classroom. She was able to provide additional accounts about the school’s planning and implementation of

citizenship education as a whole school experience. The section below provides a more detailed profile of each practitioner.

**Table 5.2: Interviewee profile: School**

Adult Practitioners	Name <sup>6</sup>		Position	
	Mr. Ferguson		History teacher & principal teacher of social subjects	
	Mr. Campbell		Modern Studies teacher	
	Mrs. Gibson		School librarian & coordinator of the Kenyan Partnership Project	
Young people	Name	Gender/ Ethnicity	Age	Involved citizenship activities outside classroom
	Graham	Male/ White Scottish	16	Kenyan Partnership Project <sup>7</sup>
	Sarah	Female/ White Scottish	16	Kenyan Partnership Project
	Tanya	Female/ White Scottish	16	Kenyan Partnership Project
	Mike	Male/ White Scottish	16	Previously involved in Youth and Philanthropy Initiative <sup>8</sup>
	Kate	Female/ White Scottish	16	Previous pupil council member; Young Sports Ambassador <sup>9</sup>
	Liz	Female/ Asian Scottish	17	Young Ambassador for Holocaust education <sup>10</sup> ; Other informal volunteering activities in the community
	Annie	Female/ White Scottish	17	None
	Allan	Male/ White Scottish	17	None
	Peter	Male/ Asian Scottish	17	None
	Karine	Female/ White Scottish	17	A local charity project for homeless urban youth
	Rachel	Female/ White Scottish	16	Young Sports Ambassador

<sup>6</sup> Pseudonyms were used for the names of all individuals and those of some citizenship programmes/projects.

<sup>7</sup> More detailed information of citizenship activities young people were engaged with is available in Appendix 1.

<sup>8</sup> Organised by the Toskan Casale Foundation and Wood Family Trust, it aims “to provide secondary school students with a hands-on, reality-based experience through a strong academic philanthropy course which gives them the skills to assess the needs of their community and make grants to grassroots, community based charities meeting those needs” ([www.goypi.org](http://www.goypi.org), 2014).

<sup>9</sup> Established by the Youth Sport Trust (UK) in order to motivate and inspire young people to get more involved in sport and physical education as well as to generate enthusiasm for major sports and games in the UK including the 2012 London Olympic and Paralympic Games and the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games ([www.youthsporttrust.org](http://www.youthsporttrust.org), 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Organised by the Holocaust Educational Trust, the project aims to educate young people from various background about the Holocaust and the important lessons learned for today ([www.het.org.uk](http://www.het.org.uk), 2014)

Mr. Ferguson, the History teacher, had been teaching for 11 years. Also a principal teacher of social subjects, he mentioned having several main responsibilities for effective implementation of the *Curriculum for Excellence* and its key agendas of 'global citizenship' and 'enterprise in education'. These included ensuring citizenship was delivered as a part of all social subject areas as well as outwith the curriculum via extra-curricular activities and the whole school experience, and through devising personal achievement opportunities to encourage students' participation outwith school — usually through formally-organised programmes such as the John Muir project, the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, the Eco School project etc.

Mr. Campbell, Modern Studies teacher, had been teaching the subject for over forty years. Occasionally, he was also teaching Religious and Moral Education classes due to a staff shortage at the school. In the last year of his teaching career before retirement, he said his involvement in citizenship education was not as active as it used to be. However, his experiences in the past included running youth clubs associated with the school community (e.g. cycling club); he also participated in the foundation of pupil councils and organised the students' annual visit to the Scottish Parliament. He provided valuable insights into citizenship education in Scotland — its history, changes and important contemporary issues.

Mrs. Duncan, the school librarian, had been involved in the Kenyan Partnership Project since it was set up in early 2000, as the coordinator. Whilst not being directly engaged with classroom teaching, like the other two practitioners above, she was identified as one of the core staff responsible for the school's citizenship education, especially in terms of creating opportunities for interdisciplinary learning, e.g. exchange of students' essays about their national heroes with partnership schools in Kenya. She was also involved in other 'one-off' citizenship activities, e.g. organising charity works, running a fair trade café, building networks with other schools, the local council, civic agencies and NGOs in the local community.

In order to obtain authentic, insightful and knowledgeable accounts of young people's citizenship learning and practice, I chose to work with 11 young people in their senior years of secondary education (aged between 16 and 17, 7 female and 4 male, 9 White Scottish and 2 Asian Scottish). These students were recommended to me either by the three practitioners mentioned above or by their peer group participant(s). This involved two groups of young people: (a) three S5 (the second last year) students who were members of the Kenyan Partnership Project, preparing for their first visit to Kenya after successfully accommodating visitors from their partnership schools in the previous year; and (b) eight S6 (the final year) students who had enrolled in Modern Studies at 'Higher' level (university entrance qualification).

Three members of the Kenyan Partnership Project — Graham, Sarah and Tanya — were recommended by one of the practitioners for their (over three years) long-term dedicated engagement with the project itself. Meeting these students was regarded as being important to gain insights into the school's approach to global citizenship education in practice. Though the involvement in the Kenyan Partnership Project, these students had been engaged in a wide range of activities in the past, from charity works (e.g. volunteering at a local charity shop and organising book donations for their partner schools' library in Kenya), fund-raising activities (e.g. fair-trade café, backpacking trips and school sleepover), self-learning and group discussion sessions on global issues (war, terrorism, environmental issues, global inequality, etc.) and African/Kenyan politics as well as other transferrable and ICT skills training required for conducting these activities. They were also building effective and meaningful relationships with young people in Kenya.

At the time of the data collection, Graham, Sarah and Tanya were very busy planning for their visit to Kenya after successfully accommodating visitors from the partner schools a year earlier. I met them on Wednesday afternoon — the allocated time for extracurricular activities — in the school library where they usually meet up and work on their individual presentations about Scotland and Scottish culture. Overall these students seemed to enjoy

and show genuine excitement about their involvement in the project and future visit to Kenya.

Another group of students were selected from a Modern Studies class at Higher level. Involving these students — Mike, Kate, Liz, Annie, Allan, Peter, Karine and Rachael — was considered to be crucial for the overall aim of this research for two reasons. Firstly, the curricular aims and content of Modern Studies combines political education, sociology, history, geography and more recently business/economic studies directly reflected in the *official* agendas of education for citizenship in Scotland<sup>11</sup>. Secondly, unlike other social studies subjects such as History, Modern Studies is a non-statutory subject which means that those who choose to study the subject at Higher level are expected to have a greater level of interest and experience of citizenship learning and participation. However, the experience of the students was varied. For example:

- Annie, Allan and Peter were *not* participating in any activities outside the classroom and their enrolment in Modern Studies (and other citizenship-related lessons) was more likely to be related to ‘academic’ interests only.
- Mike, Kate and Rachel named a couple of activities they were involved in outside the classroom, but the nature of these activities — pupil council, Youth Philanthropy Initiative and Young Sports Ambassador — was fundamentally school-based or school-initiated, hence they rarely engaged with the wider community.
- Liz and Karine were actively engaged with citizenship learning both at school and in their communities through various voluntary work, e.g. helping the elderly in a neighbourhood area, volunteering at a local nursery or acting as a young ambassador for Holocaust education for peers and the wider community (Liz) or involvement in a community charity project to help homeless urban youth (Karine).

It is worth mentioning that it was *all* of these mixed experiences of students’ community involvement that provided me with valuable data for

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<sup>11</sup> According to the report by the Modern Studies Excellence Group (2011), its main aim is to “enable learners to have a knowledge and understanding of the contemporary political, social and economic challenges affecting citizens today and to develop the skills that will allow them to respond effectively” (p.2).



investigating various factors that influence or shape young people's civic, social and political participation as well as *non*-participation.

In the community, a total of 12 individuals participated in the research, which included 2 adult practitioners and 10 young people. Table 5.3 below summarises their profile.

**Table 5.3: Interviewee profile: Community**

Adult practitioners	Name		Position	
	Mr. McKay		Community education worker	
	Mrs. Watson		Community education worker	

Young people	Name	Gender/ Ethnicity	Age	Involvement outside classroom/ school
	Hannah	Female/ White Scottish	16	Youth Congress; Youth Participation Programmes (YPP)
	Frankie	Female/ White Scottish	14	Youth Congress, Member of Scottish Youth Parliament; YPP
	Jess	Female/ White Scottish	14	Youth Congress
	Danielle	Female/ White Scottish	16	Youth Congress; Queen's Guide Award Scheme; Volunteering at local charity shop; YPP
	Joe	Male/ White Scottish	16	Youth Congress, local Rugby Club <sup>12</sup> ; YPP
	Charlie	Female/ White Scottish	19	Youth Congress; Previous member of Scottish Youth Parliament; YPP
	Sammi	Female/ White Scottish	15	Girls Brigade in Scotland <sup>13</sup> ; Rights Respecting School Award (RRSA) Team <sup>14</sup> ; Volunteering in the local community
	Naomi	Female/ White Scottish	17	Youth Congress; Volunteering at day-care centre for children with disabilities
	Amy	Female/ White Scottish	15	Rights Respecting School Award (RRSA) Team; a local youth forum; Volunteering in the community
	Tom	Male/ White Scottish	16	Youth Congress; local Environmental Group

<sup>12</sup> I included this sport club because its members were involved in various fundraising events and voluntary activities for the health and wellbeing of children and young people in its local community.

<sup>13</sup> Originally established as a Christian voluntary organisation in the late 1890s, it is now part of a worldwide organisation for girls and young women of all faiths or none. Its main aim is to help girls develop Christian values and attitudes towards life (e.g. reverence, self-control, caring for others and a sense of social responsibility) as well as to promote "a just society where all people are equally valued" ([www.girls-brigade-scotland.co.uk](http://www.girls-brigade-scotland.co.uk), 2014)

<sup>14</sup> Established by the UNICEF UK in 2004 under the UNCRC principles in order to encourage young people's active involvement in decision-making processes in school communities. Currently about 1,600 primary and secondary schools are registered throughout the UK and its positive influences on youth participation and young people's citizenship learning have been found by a qualitative study undertaken by Sebba and Robinson (2010) as well as several Ofsted individual school reports ([www.unicef.org.uk](http://www.unicef.org.uk), 2014).

Mr. McKay and Mrs. Watson were long-term local council employees with over ten years of experience of working in the community. They had been involved in a variety of youth work and youth-focused community education projects, named Youth Participation Programmes (YPP). These included a range of activities such as a 'learning for democracy' course, electoral promotion campaigns for young people and pupil council trainings, as well as Youth Congress and support for members of the Scottish Youth Parliament. They were also central members of a major nation-wide youth participation network, established in the early 2000s, for practitioners across related sectors to share information, experiences and resources of youth participation in Scotland.

Based on their first-hand experiences with young people and local, national and international youth agendas, the accounts of these community education workers gave an insight into how recent changes in economic, dilemmas and opportunities for their practice of informal citizenship education with young people.

A key criterion for recruiting young people was active engagement with their communities. Ten young people (aged between 14 and 19, 8 female and 2 male, all White Scottish) were invited, including 8 members of the Youth Congress — Hannah, Frankie, Jess, Danielle, Joe, Charlie, Naomi and Tom — whom I had already met and knew quite well through the informal visits that I had made for over a year prior to the research. The Congress membership was fundamentally on a voluntary basis, therefore attendance at its monthly meetings and other one-off activities constantly fluctuated each time I visited. The congress had 10-12 core members and 2-4 irregular ones. My study included four individuals from the former group, i.e. Charlie (the chair), Frankie, Jess and Danielle who had been active for more than a year as well as the other four from the latter group, i.e. Hannah, Joe, Naomi and Tom, who were relatively new to the Congress, having been members for only one or two months.

Most of these young people were also actively involved in citizenship learning at their schools through activities such as pupil councils, Rights Respecting School Award Team, Queen's Guide Award Scheme as well as other (non-council organised) community programmes such as a local sports club, a local environmental group, the Scottish Youth Parliament and other activities, including volunteering at a charity shop or a day-care centre for children with disabilities and helping those with need in their neighbourhood.

The Youth Congress served as a public sphere for young people where they could collectively and critically deliberate various social issues that were important to their lives as well as their communities. It provided me with data on the experiences of young people as *engaged citizens*. Many of the Congress members had been in contact with local stakeholders such as council members, local MPs, pressure groups and other youth organisations. Just before my research data collection, in February 2012, they joined a youth-led national campaign called Love Equally for marriage equality for all people in Scotland. The Congress was regarded as a key platform for those who were especially interested in politics and potentially might become politicians or political activists in the future. They could develop and practise first-hand, the skills and experiences of political participation and political decision-making. For example, a few years earlier Charlie attended the European Youth Conference held in Belgium as a (former) member of the Scottish Youth Parliament (MSYP). Frankie, the current MSYP, was involved in various decision-making processes at local and national levels, e.g. community meetings on road extension works in her neighbourhood and consultations on youth-related policies such as the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act and lowering the minimum voting age to 16 for the referendum on Scottish independence.

Engaging with the Youth Congress members was also advantageous in terms of the recruitment of additional research participants. The Congress members naturally had peer networks amongst those who were actively engaged with citizenship learning in their communities. As an 'outsider'

adult researcher, it was not always easy to find, make contact with and build a reasonably trustworthy relationship with 'engaged' young people outside the Congress circle. But via referrals from several Congress members, I was able to invite two more young people — Amy and Sammi — who were quite well known to their peer groups.

Both Sammi and Amy were actively engaged with various charity and voluntary works in their communities as well as at their schools. Their accounts provided me with additional insights into young people's awareness of UNCRC and other youth-related issues in the community as well as experiences of youth participation *not* organised by the council such as the Girl's Brigade. They provided interesting accounts about more traditional types of (leisure- or faith-based) youth work and the changes in recent years in relation to the social, cultural and economic conditions of the community.

### ***Data collection methods: Semi-structured interviews***

The semi-structured interview was chosen as a primary data collection instrument because it is considered particularly advantageous for offering in-depth, rich and authentic descriptions of social issues and events (Bryman, 2008; Kvale, 2010; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Silverman, 2011). Kvale (2010, p.21) defines the interview as "literally an inter-view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a common theme...gives access to the manifold of local narratives embodied in storytelling and opens for a discourse and negotiation of the meaning of the lived world". By allowing the participants to explore, interpret and re-contextualise the meanings and experiences of citizenship and citizenship learning, the data was expected to provide unique cultural stories of citizenship, recounting each participant's lived experience of it.

The semi-structured interview schedule was preferred because it provides flexibility and focus which is required in order to probe for further depth as salient topics emerge, while offering sufficient guidance for effective management of the interview process (Neuman, 2003; Bryman, 2008; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). As the study involved two different groups of individuals, i.e. adult practitioners and young people in each setting, different approaches were taken to organise and conduct the interview questions.

Firstly, adult practitioners who participated in the research interviews were experienced and insightful professionals who had been working in respected positions as teachers, school staff or community educators for 10 years or more. Hence, I mainly used formal and short open-ended questions, through which they could elaborate their expert knowledge and opinions on official curricular and policy documents of citizenship education and their practice of citizenship education implementation in each research site (Appendix 1). The specific themes of the interview questions for adult practitioners included:

- Personal profile: questions about their professional position, responsibilities and involvement in other citizenship / political activities which might affect their engagement with citizenship education for young people;
- Citizenship as an official curricular agenda: questions about different citizenship educational model(s) promoted in current educational policies and how it overlaps or contradicts with their personal aspiration, factors that influence their teaching / delivery of citizenship education in a specific (school / community) environment;
- Young people's political socialisation: questions about the extent to which formal / informal citizenship education may impact on young people's development of citizenship in relation to other factors such as family, peer group and political culture;
- Youth political participation: questions about their awareness / understanding of youth rights / UNCRC, their views on young people's political attitudes and youth (civic / political) participation and aspirations for young people's role as active citizens.

For young people, I chose a more informal approach in order to create a fun, non-authoritarian, yet educational environment whereby young people could talk about their understanding of citizenship, potentially controversial social issues in their communities and their experiences of social and political engagement such as youth activism. Responding to these questions about citizenship and participation inevitably required a certain level of political literacy, which is often taught in various curricular subjects such as Modern Studies and other social studies subjects as well as gained through taking part in extracurricular activities and community-based citizenship learning opportunities. Hence, the design of interview questions put an emphasis on minimising an undesirable classroom atmospheres which, as Eder and Fingerson (2001, p.185) warn, could mislead young people to provide “the answers they feel are expected them rather than stating what they actually think or feel”. Eder and Fingerson (ibid.) further highlight that tackling such a basic power dimension of the interview context is crucial to foster a personalised and humanised environment that actually empowers young interviewees rather than reproducing the unequal relationship they often encounter in everyday life at home, at schools and in wider society.

Firstly, through informed consent, the interviewees were made aware of their rights to confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal at any time, before or prior to the interview (concerns related to informed consent will be discussed in more detail in a later section). Secondly, it was set out clearly at the start of each interview that the questions I was about to ask did not have a single answer but could have *many* different valid answers, hence the interviewee did not need to be afraid of being wrong or incorrect. Instead, they should feel free to pause, think about and rephrase the responses at any time, if they wished. Thirdly, they were also encouraged to raise questions or ask for further explanations for any interview questions or texts that they did not fully understand. Fourthly, opportunities to reflect and go back to earlier interview questions were given at the end of the interview process so that the interviewees had a chance to add to, or revise, their responses. Lastly, more informal and friendly language was used throughout the interview process,

so that the interviewees would not feel challenged or overwhelmed by myself or the concepts and vocabulary employed in the interview questions.

Overall, I wanted to create a more open, casual interview environment where young people could have fun and feel empowered, rather than a formal, test-like one whereby they might lose interest or feel bored and possibly alienated. The interview questions incorporated various techniques, including using visual aids, props such as cards and stickers as well as a game called the traffic game (Appendix 2). This was introduced at the beginning of the interview as a warm-up exercise, primarily in order to inform and pre-set the broad themes and agendas of this research before the main interview question. It also generated a crucial set of data representing young people's general attitudes towards citizenship and citizenship learning issues. The basic rule of the game was to choose a green (agree), red (disagree) or yellow (not sure) light for 23 statements which reflected controversial social, political and youth issues in Scottish and British communities in recent years, including:

- People refusing to work should lose their rights as citizens;
- For a good cause, I would attend an unlawful march;
- People with different religious views should attend schools according to their faith;
- LGBTs<sup>15</sup> should have the same right o marriage as other people;
- Immigrants are major cause of conflicts and hostility in Britain;
- When there are not many jobs available, foreigners' right to work should be restricted;
- Foreigners living in Britain should be able to vote;
- Democracy depends on harmony, not disagreement;
- The more power the government has, the more likely it is to resolve social problems;
- Honesty and morality of a politician are more important than his/her abilities;
- Happiness does not rely on democracy.

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<sup>15</sup> Lesbians, Gays, Bysexuals and Transgenders

- Religious rules are more important than civil laws;
- School should teach more about political and social issues;
- School should prepare young people for work;
- Young people are not interested in politics;
- Young people are responsible for preserving Scotland's unique identity;
- Government is doing its best to include young people in its decision-making process.
- Young people should be able to always take advice from older people when making important decisions.
- All people are equal in Scotland;
- I feel part of the community. [Traffic Game]

Supplementing the traffic game in the interview structure was found very useful. My impression was that, during the main interview questions, the young people spoke well about their views, values, understanding and experiences of citizenship, citizenship learning and youth participation by borrowing, defining, reassessing and reflecting on the concepts and issues introduced by the game.

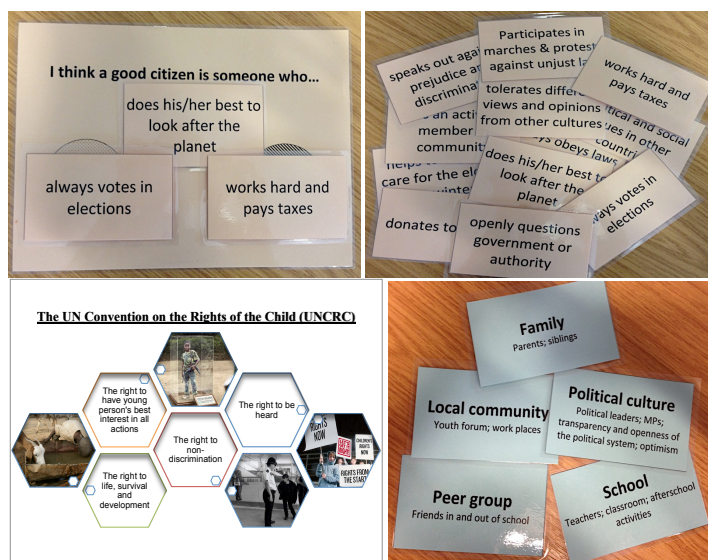
The main interview process consisted of three sets of purposefully organised questions to collect comparable data with the adult practitioners' accounts. These were:

- *What kind of citizen:* questions about what it means to be a good citizen, kind(s) of citizenship they learn in citizenship lessons at school and kind(s) of citizenship activities they were involved outside classroom and in their local communities;
- *Young people's political socialisation:* questions about factors that affect their learning and development of citizenship and the importance of school and the community in comparison to other factors such as family, peer group and political culture;
- *Young people's right to participation:* questions about their awareness and understanding of UNCRC, attitudes towards basic democratic principles (freedom, equality and justice), kind(s) of civic/political participation available to young people and they are willing to engaged with, the most important issue in young people's lives in Scotland today as well as challenges and opportunities for youth participation in society and in democracy (Appendix 3).



Each set of questions started with showing an array of cards and/or images to initiate interest in young people and aid their narratives (Image 5.1, page 173).

**Image 5.1: Examples of interview response**



Whilst use of these visual aids could limit young people's responses, it is important to note that my focus was not simply on their choices from the provided statements, but their answers to my follow-up, open-ended questions of 'why' so that they could elaborate on the reasoning behind choices they made and did not make. For instance, I asked them to select cards about kind(s) of citizenship / political activities they would like to be involved in and to explain not only why they chose such cards but also why they did not choose the others. It was only through these latter probing questions that I was able to gain sufficiently detailed descriptions about factors which motivate and obstruct young people's participation in society and politics.

Some minor complications did occur occasionally in relation to my foreign accent and the research participants' local (Scottish) accent / vocabularies (this issue will be examined in more detail in the data transcription section). However, interviews with both young people and adult practitioners went

relatively smoothly, lasting on average 30-40 minutes with the young people and 1-1.5 hours with the adult practitioners. All interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. Note-taking as well as photo-taking were also conducted to gather other aspects of the interviews, including responses selected with cards or images. All data was later stored on a personal computer, ready for transcription and data analysis.

### ***Chronology of data collection***

The data collection process was completed in just over a five-month period of time, between 1<sup>st</sup> February and 12<sup>th</sup> June 2012. The figure 5.1 summarises the sequence of the data collection.

**Figure 5.1: Sequence of data collection of this study**

School	Practitioners						
	Young people						
Community	Practitioners						
	Young People						
		1 <sup>st</sup> February	March	April	May	12 <sup>th</sup> June	

Because of the restricted timescale and resources, I decided to collect the data on a one-time basis rather than longitudinally. The study involved professionals in practice and young people in their secondary education including many senior year students who it was anticipated would be either extremely busy with preparation for examinations or completely absent from the school after the examinations. Therefore, the primary concern for selecting the data collection period was to be able to make direct contact with young people as well as adult practitioners. For a more rigorous and effective management of the process of data collection in the two chosen sites, the headteacher in the school and two adult practitioners in the

community were contacted for their agreement and permission for the study.

I began with gathering data from participants in the school where I had more immediate access at the time, followed by those in the community. As anticipated, collecting data in the community took much longer time than in the school because of the remote, scattered locations of the interview sites as well as difficulty in finding adequate research participants and arranging a suitable time and place. Indeed, catching up with the research participants, both community educators and actively engaged young people, was not as easy as working with the staff and young people at the school who were virtually next door to each other inside one building. Hence, in the community, I often had to 'seize the moment', especially when interviewing young people, by inviting those who arrived early or were staying late at the Congress or other community project meetings.

### ***The researcher-participants relationship***

As many authors highlight elsewhere, in qualitative research, despite considerable efforts, it is almost impossible to construct the same notion of objectivity as in quantitative research (Bryman, 2008; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Kvale, 2010; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Silverman, 2011). This is largely due to the fact that the ongoing interview process inevitably makes the participants re-evaluate and re-frame their accounts as they progress. In research involving young people, the so-called "social desirability effect" (Livingstone & Lemish, 2001, p.3) is often witnessed, whereby the pre-determined accounts of adults, e.g. parents, carers, teachers/practitioners and researchers, containing implicit normative assumptions might serve as a spurious paternalistic guide which dilutes the authentic voices of young participants.

From a similar stance, Eder and Fingerson (2001) emphasise that, when interviewing children, the power dynamics between adults and young people should always be taken into account by the researcher. As Hood, Mayall and Oliver (1999 cited in Eder & Fingerson, 2001, p.182) argue “children are a socially disadvantaged and disempowered group, not only because their age but because of their position in society as the ‘researched’ and never the ‘researchers’”. Such a concern expands to young people and their citizenship. As discussed in Chapter 2, young people are often regarded as citizens *in the making* in official policy.

Youniss and Smollar (1985 cited in Eder and Fingerson, 2001, p.38) further underline that a non-judgemental, confidential and accepting atmosphere is particularly important when interviewing young people as they are “more likely to be careful about what they say, are more likely to hide their true feelings, and are less likely to talk about doubts and fear...[when] talking with the adults to whom they are closest”. Therefore, consciously resisting any particular view(s) of citizenship and citizenship discourse, I intended to take on a role as an *impartial storyteller*, relying on experiential narratives of young people and adult practitioners about citizenship learning and participation. This being said, it was anticipated that participants would still be able to obtain positive outcomes through critical reflection on notions, values and norms of citizenship, challenging preconceptions and bringing dominant discourses into a dialogue with more tacit knowledge gained from the interview process as well as other citizenship learning experiences.

I also acknowledged the “interviewer effects” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p.204) that refers to the unconscious impact of the researchers’ experiential and biographical baggage such as gender, age, race or ethnicity, social class and certain personal characteristics on the processes and outcomes of the interview data collection as well as analysis. From this perspective, many commentators (Eder & Fingerson, 2001; Hobson & Townsend, 2010; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Silverman, 2011) note that the shared or different personal attributes between the researcher and the research participants affect rapport-building and interaction between the

interviewer and the interviewees. Based on my previous experiences of informal visits to Scottish schools and youth forums, the presence of an overseas researcher can influence the research process in ways that affect the responses of informants. Moreover, during these visits, I found it difficult to remain as an outsider-observer as I was often asked to assist in small chores such as assisting staff or young people by directly partaking in the project. This seemed to have reduced the impact of working as an outsider, i.e. emotional remoteness between me and the research participants, although it probably only minimised rather than eradicated it.

Individual interviewing was preferred to group interviewing or focus groups as I was able to construct a more tailored and approachable interview environment where each young person was invited to talk and discuss issues important to them. As expected, these accounts often involved dissatisfied, disaffected and disappointing experiences with adults close to them, including parents, teachers, political leaders and politicians as well as the general public and media reporters, resulting in young people being unable or unwilling to speak freely in the presence of other adults or peer groups. Eder and Fingerson (2001, p.186-7) state that *reciprocity* is an important ethical principle of a qualitative researcher in order to reduce potential power inequality between an adult researcher and young research participants. They further argue that one important level at which reciprocity can take place is “within the interview itself” by treating “respondents in such a way that they receive something from participating in the study, whether it be a greater sense of empowerment, a greater understanding of their own life experiences, or both” (ibid.)

From this perspective, individual interviewing was mutually beneficial. On the one hand, it contributed to the creation of a non-judgemental and confidential interview atmosphere, crucial for young people to open up and safely talk about their opinions and experiences (ibid). To put it differently, although indirect, the interview questions were designed to tap into an aspect of critical pedagogy “at its best attempts to provoke students to deliberate, resist, and address various oppressions using a range of capacities

that enable them to move beyond the world they already know without insisting on a fixed set of meanings” or official curricular knowledge (Giroux, 2013, p.194). On the other hand, it also built a sense of reciprocity by creating opportunities for young people to explore and revisit their own conceptions and values in relation to citizenship. This can lead young people to gain new insights about themselves as well as new knowledge about citizenship issues and actions, i.e. political literacy, which may be deployed for future (potentially empowering) social engagement and political participation.

I intended to take on the role of an interviewer-traveller. According to Kvale (op. cit.) “the interview traveller, in line with the original Latin meaning of conversation as ‘wandering together with’, walks along with the local inhabitants, ask questions and encourages them to tell their own stories of their lived world” (Kvale, 2010, p.19) , relying on experiential and subjective accounts from the young people. This being said, it was hoped that participants would still be able to engage in positive experiences of critical reflection on assumed notions, values and norms of citizenship, challenging preconceptions by bringing dominant discourses of citizenship into dialogue with more tacit knowledge gained from both formal and informal settings of citizenship education.

## **Data management and analysis**

### ***Transcription***

Transcription is in itself a crucial part of the interpretative process, as transformation from oral speech to written texts involves a series of judgements and decisions (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006; Kvale, 2010). The principal purpose of my research is to explore *conceptual*, rather than linguistic or factual, dimensions of the meaning(s) of citizenship, citizenship learning and participation. Therefore, whilst being faithful to the vocabularies used in the original recording, transcription procedures

followed a more formal, written style which involved the occasional rephrasing of speech rather than producing verbatim descriptions.

As a non-native English speaker, I found it quite challenging to understand and transcribe some of the interview data because they often involved local accents and dialects to which I was unaccustomed. When possible, during the interview process, I asked the interviewee(s) to repeat or explain acronyms, vocabularies and /or expressions they used, but doing so was not always possible as it would interrupt their momentum. Another option was to hire a professional transcriber, but it was too costly and somewhat unproductive in a sense that: (a) it would require image data which contain actual portraits of some of the participants; and (b) it might create an unnecessary distance between the data and myself. As Corden and Sainsbury (2006, p.8) underline, by transcribing their own works, researchers can gain “greater familiarity with the data and deeper insight”. Nevertheless, in order to ensure reliability and validity of the transcribed data, I was assisted by a couple of graduate students and research supervisors who were involved in filling gaps and verifying the accuracy of the transcripts.

All transcripts were entered into NVivo for further analysis, which I found very useful for managing, organising, analysing and retrieving the qualitative interview data. The section below outlines detailed stages of my analytical work.

### ***Data analysis strategy: Thematic network analysis***

Data analysis was conducted by adopting what Attride-Stirling (2001) term as thematic networks analytic strategy. Thematic analysis is a useful tool for qualitative data as it allows the researcher to explore and interpret a socially constructed world of meaning and experiences (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Gibbs, 2007; Gibson & Brown, 2009; Silverman, 2011). Whilst it is more commonly applied to grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), my approach is more

theoretically informed (based on the citizenship education framework), rather than purely data-driven. In other words, by organising the themes theoretically on the basis of the conceptual framework of citizenship education (discussed in Chapter 3), I sought to investigate if there were patterns emerging from the empirical data itself. Whilst the former was probably more significant, the latter provided flexibility, advantageous for exploring and examining topics and themes that were unforeseen or insufficiently discussed in the literature review.

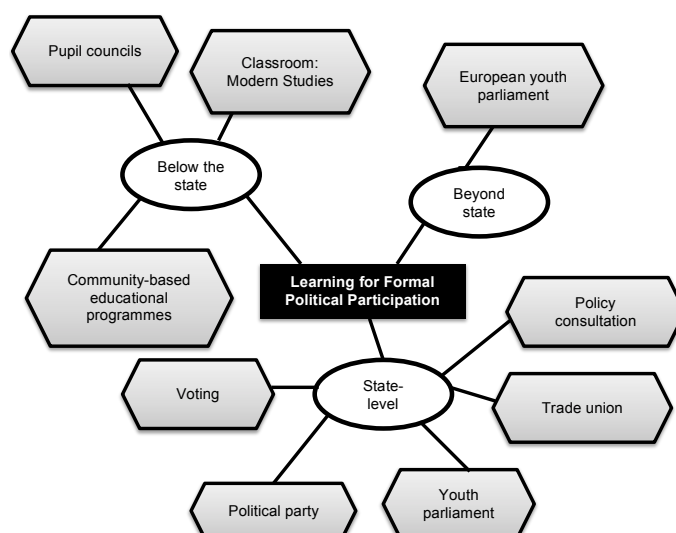
Attride-Stirling (2001) explain that thematic networks, instead of being “any way a new method...shares the key features of any hermeneutic analysis” which “offers the web-like network as an organizing principle and a representational means”, making “explicit the procedures that may be employed in going from text to interpretation” (ibid., p.388) Key concepts enabling thematic networks analysis are three levels of themes: “(i) lowest-order premises evident in the text (Basic Themes); (ii) categories of basic themes grouped together to summarize more abstract principles (Organizing Themes); and (iii) super-ordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole (Global Themes). These are then represented as web-like maps depicting the salient themes at each of the three levels, and illustrating the relationships between them” (ibid.). Attride-Stirling’s framework fundamentally derives from a bottom-up approach, primarily grounded in ‘emerging’ themes from the data and working its way up to develop a coherent theory.

Whilst adopting her key techniques of extracting, identifying and evaluating different levels of themes and networks, my approach was fundamentally different from Attride-Stirling’s to an extent, in that the coding scheme I adopted did not emerge from the data, but derived directly from a theory itself: that is, a conceptual framework of citizenship education. Borrowing Attride-Stirling’s typologies (2001), I implemented four different models of citizenship education — *learning for membership*, *learning for entrepreneurial citizenship*, *learning for formal political participation* and *learning for activism* — as Global Themes; different levels of citizenship engagement / participation



— *below the state, state-level and beyond the state* — as Organizing Themes; and key characteristics of each citizenship education model as Basic Themes. Figure 5.2 below illustrates an example of a thematic network structure associated with a Global Theme of *Learning for membership*.

**Figure 5.2: Example of a thematic network structure: Learning for membership**



It is important to note that whilst I adopted pre-existing concepts and values as the primary coding framework, I was also flexible in applying this to the interview texts in order to expose any unforeseen emergent themes from the raw data itself.

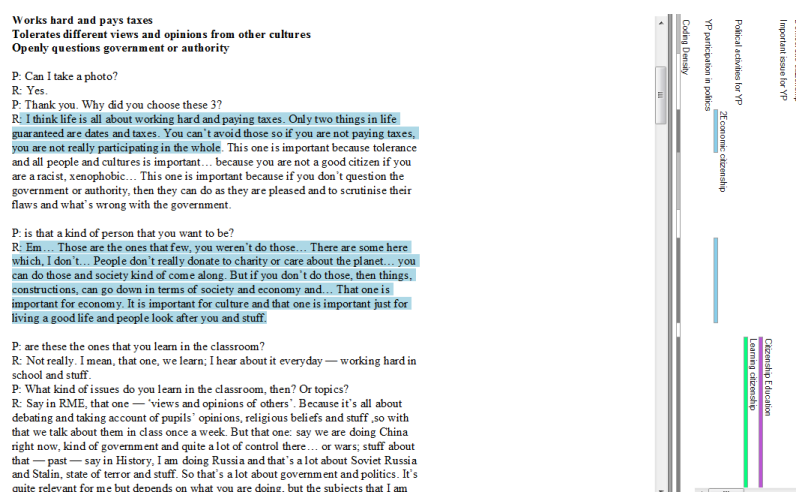
The specific process of thematic network analysis involved six stages, including:

- Step 1: Coding the material by devising a coding framework and dissecting text into text segments using this framework;
- Step 2: Identifying themes by abstracting themes from coded text segments and refining these;
- Step 3: Constructing thematic networks by selecting, re-arranging and deducing themes into basic, organising and global themes, illustrating themes as thematic network(s) and verifying and refining the network(s);
- Step 4: Describing and exploring thematic networks
- Step 5: Summarising thematic networks; and

- Step 6: Interpreting emergent patterns (Attride-Stirling, 2001, pp.390-4).

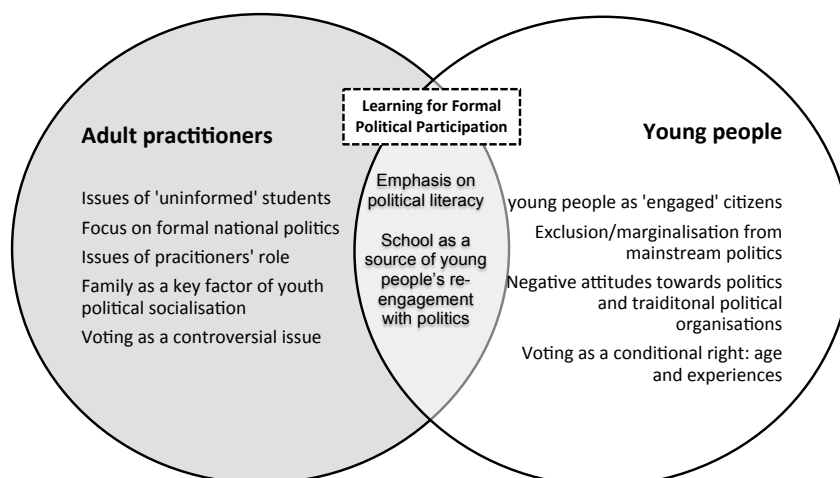
The data analysis was aided by NVivo, which not only enabled easy and rapid cross-sectional access to a large volume of qualitative interview data, but also maintained the transparency and consistency of coding schemes, paramount for enhancing validity and reliability of the findings, without losing contextual factors (Gibbs, 2007; Bryman, 2008). I found that NVivo was particularly productive at the initial stage of the basic coding work, including deployment of the coding framework as well as data reduction, distillation and grouping into systematically organised thematic networks (See Appendix 4 for full list of thematic networks developed). Also, at the later stage of analysis, reporting and presenting the findings, NVivo was helpful in the retrieval of raw data used as direct quotes in finding chapters. Yet, for comparative analysis, a manual process was more advantageous than NVivo because the former allowed me to physically juxtapose and rearrange all identified themes within each network whilst the latter offered a limited view of each data set at a time. The manual analysis provided me with relatively easy access to both synoptic and detailed characteristics of each thematic network simultaneously making it convenient to compare and contrast between different data sets within each (formal/ informal) site as well as across sites. Image 5.2 below illustrates examples of coding work, using NVivo.

**Image 5.2: Example of coding work**

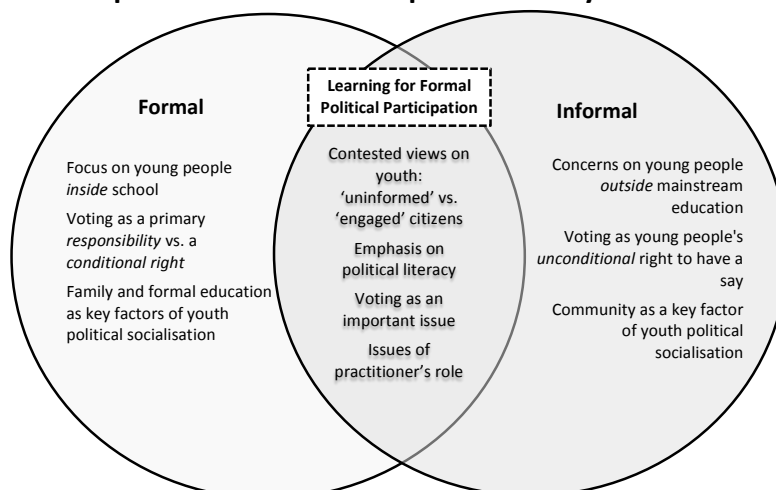


In order to ensure data comparability, this process was repeated four times for each set of data from two groups of interview participants (adult practitioners and young people) in two settings (school and community). In doing this, I was able to gain insights into particular conceptions, understandings, views and experiences of citizenship, citizenship learning and participation amongst both adult practitioners and young people in each setting. This was useful for inter-site comparison, i.e. overlapping and contrasting accounts between adult practitioners and young people as well as cross-site comparison, i.e. converging and diverging perspectives between formal (school) and informal (community) citizenship education. Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4 below depict examples of two levels of analysis, adopting a comparative approach.

**Figure 5.3: Example of an inter-site comparative analysis: School**



**Figure 5.4: Example of a cross-site comparative analysis: Formal vs. informal**



## Ethical considerations

Social science directly involves human beings, hence conducting ethical research is crucial (Griffiths, 1998; Bryman, 2008; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Silverman, 2011) Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) and Kvale (2010) emphasise the responsibility of the researcher who has an exclusive power over the 'monopoly of interpretation' of the data. This means that assuring the validity and reliability of the qualitative research is an integral part of conducting ethical research which involves negotiation and dialogue between researcher and the participants (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011).

Crucial to an ethical approach to research involving children and young people is how the researcher perceives young people. As Shaw, Brady and Davey (2011) notes, this can be manifested through the degree of young people's involvement in different stages of the research process. At the initial stage of this research, more action-based models of research design such as young people having complete ownership of the research process or young people as research collaborators (e.g. interviewer or reporter) were considered, but doing so would have been difficult due to the limited time framework as well as my unfamiliarity with the young people and the Scottish educational system. Therefore, I adopted a more traditional approach, of the young people as "sources of research data", whereby they were only involved at the data collection stage (Shaw, Brady & Davey, *ibid.*, p.8). However, to avoid potential exploitation, I invited the young people, as the most powerful and knowledgeable experts of their own citizenship accounts and experiences and capable of making informed decisions, to share their stories with others by partaking in this research. In this way, the research was to some extent, not only *on* young people but also *with* them and *for* them (Hood, Kelley & Mayall, 1996 cited in Livingstone & Lemish, 2001, p.3).

In order to work with the young people independently, following the ethical approval process of the University of Edinburgh, I applied for and acquired both the Enhanced Disclosure Certificate and Certificate from Disclosure

Scotland prior to the data collection. It should be noted that, although the research would potentially encompass a range of politically and socially sensitive issues, the participants in this research study were not regarded as being exposed to any particular risk. Whilst following general guidelines for ethnical research outlined by research methods textbooks (e.g. Eder & Fingerson, 2001; Kirby, 2004; Bryman, 2008; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Silverman, 2011; Shaw, Brady & Davey, 2011) and the Scottish Educational Research Association (SERA) (2005), I also took age-related issues into consideration, especially the rights of young people as engaged citizens. From this perspective, I was also committed to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF UK, 2009) as the primary guidelines for conducting an ethical research.

According to the UNCRC, young people under the age of 18 are to have the following rights:

- “In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration” (Article 3); and
- “State Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child” (Article 12). (UNICEF UK, 2009, pp.4-5)

With respect to the Convention, the interview was conducted on a voluntary basis and the position of the participants, as well as basic research information, e.g. aims, interview questions, use of findings, etc. were shared prior to the interview process. Informed consent was obtained to ensure there was adequate understanding about the research from both young people and adult practitioners. Parental consent was not regarded as being necessary for the young people who participated in this study because most of them were older than sixteen, legal adults, although without full access to all the rights of adult citizens. For instance, apart from the 2014 referendum for Scottish independence, they are disenfranchised from the formal political system and political decision-making; they are unable to purchase age-

restricted products such as alcohol or cigarettes; and they receive a lower minimum wage than adults. At the same time, they are able to join the army, get married or indeed, have a child of their own. One of the main purposes of this study is to listen to, interpret and reflect on young people's voices and experiences of alienation, marginalisation and exclusion by the social structure dominated by adult citizens. From this perspective, by directly acquiring consent from young people, not from their parents, guardians or teachers, I wished to avoid any diminishing or undermining of the young people's authority or their rights to be equal, autonomous and responsible citizens.

The specific statements of the informed consent for young people and adult practitioners were adapted from the *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (SERA, 2005) which underpin privacy, anonymity and confidentiality as the key principles, but were articulated differently in terms of the forms of language used: i.e. more formal for adult practitioners and more informal or casual for young people (See Appendix 5 for adults informed consent form & Appendix 6 for young people's informed consent form).

Anonymity and confidentiality were protected at all stages of transcription, data analysis and dissemination of findings by using pseudonyms for research sites, related citizenship learning activities and the names of the participants. Data was only viewed by myself and my research supervisors. Nevertheless, protecting the identity of 'the school', 'the community' and the citizenship learning projects referred to was expected to be relatively more difficult than individual identities; indeed, it would not be too challenging for those who have local knowledge to figure out which school or which local council that I worked with. The school and local council authorities did not indicate that they wished their names to be anonymised, but I had promised them anonymity and confidentiality, hence using pseudonyms was considered a more ethically appropriate option.

Protecting individual identity was less problematic. Although participants were given the opportunity to self-select their pseudonyms, the vast majority

of them — none of the adult practitioners — did not do so, perhaps because they did not think this research would have any detrimental effects on them. Instead of a complete anonymisation (e.g. young person 1, 2, 3...), I preferred to attribute personal names to each participant to enhance readability as well as to keep the data 'alive'.

For the adult practitioners, I chose a form of 'Mr/Mrs (anonymised) last name' which is commonly used in schools and other educational settings in Scotland, distinct from the young people to whom I gave a more friendly form of (anonymised) first names. As discussed in the literature review, personal factors such as gender and ethnicity can have marginalising effects on some experiences of citizenship and citizenship participation. My study involved more young females (7 out of 11 in the school and 8 out of 10 in the community) and two Asian Scottish young people. Whilst I sought to deliver their stories of citizenship as (potentially) marginalised citizens, I also wanted to circumvent any unnecessary labelling, therefore I deliberately adopted English names for all young people with non-gendered names where possible.

All recordings, image files and transcripts were stored securely in digital form in a secure personal computer. After data was transcribed and verified, recordings and any image files that contain identifiable portraits of the participants were destroyed. Transcripts were viewed only by my research supervisors and myself, with participants' names being recorded as pseudonyms.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I examined crucial methodological concerns related to the small-scale, qualitative research project I conducted to investigate young people's experiences of citizenship learning in formal and informal settings. Based on principles of qualitative research paradigm informed by critical

theory, I employed various qualitative methods and strategies such as purposive sampling, semi-structured interviews and thematic network analysis to collect, manage and analyse the cross-sectional data.

The comparative perspective of the research draws from two sources. Firstly, there is an inter-site comparison between the narratives of practitioners and those of young people in order to explore what is taught and learnt in each setting of citizenship education. Chapters 6 and 7 detail the findings from both the formal and informal settings, i.e. the school and the community respectively. Secondly, there is a cross-site comparison in order to examine overlaps and contrasts between the two settings. Chapter 8 illustrates these findings.



## Chapter 6

# Schooling and Citizenship

### Introduction

Whilst the family is consistently regarded as one of the strongest influences in learning citizenship (Schugurensky & Myers, 2003; Schulz *et al.*, 2010), recent policies in Scotland and the rest of the UK emphasise that schools are at the centre of citizenship learning and experiences. The socialisation of young people may be a primary goal of citizenship teaching, yet whether or not its latent aim is to 'empower' young people as liberated citizens or merely involve them in the existing unequal social order as domesticated citizens is crucial to a democratic polity and the interests it serves. The debate on the nature of citizenship education for young people in schools has to take account of the contested nature of citizenship and the wider purposes of education. To express it in crude terms: is education for *liberation* or *domestication*?

This chapter draws particular attention to comparative aspects of the practitioners' and students' narratives and explores the main themes found in the 'formal *teaching* of citizenship' and in the 'formal *learning* of citizenship'. The accounts of each group and a comparison between them provide a snapshot of the 'multiple realities' of formal citizenship education and learning based on ambivalent and contradictory assumptions and practices. These are often implicit rather than explicit and reflect different experiences and aspirations for young people's engagement with citizenship and democracy. Having said that, the reality is often messy and there are also overlaps and agreements between young people's narratives and the views of school practitioners in relation to what citizenship entails. Comparing their views and reading across the different accounts of what citizenship involves, it is argued in this chapter that, rather than thinking about citizenship in the singular, there are, instead, multiple realities of citizenship education, as it is both taught and learned.

## **Practitioners' perspective**

Existing research (e.g. Kisby & Sloam, 2011; Eurydice, 2012) often focuses more on written policy and curricular documents rather than everyday classroom practices, thus offering an insufficient basis for understanding the reality of citizenship education: i.e., how policy is actually delivered in practice and, more importantly, why certain topics are chosen whilst others are excluded. In addition, this section also examines various pedagogical approaches adopted by practitioners and their potential implications for the students' learning and the practice of democratic citizenship in school-based formal citizenship education.

It is argued in this section that the practitioners' narratives on citizenship education do not illustrate arbitrary and technical issues but 'ideologically-driven' choices which are implicit in the practice of experienced professional educators. By ideological I do not mean that the practitioners were simply

indoctrinating students into a particular worldview but that the emphasis of their teaching reflected the view that the meaning of membership and participation in formal political processes were assumed as axiomatic for democratic life. Later I will argue that the accounts of the young people questioned these definitions by creating their own sense of citizenship, as ‘everyday makers’. Moreover, school practitioners increasingly extended the meaning of citizenship as participation in terms of preparation for economic activity. In contrast, teaching for activism — to organise and assert rights — was marginal, although not entirely neglected or undervalued. To illustrate this, the four models of the conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 3 are used to organise and analyse the attitudes and approaches to citizenship education.

The framing of citizenship education in the school fits with the dominant model of citizenship education in official policy; it therefore does not reflect the potential breadth of educational possibilities for citizenship education. The practitioners’ approach combines a specific vision of ‘good citizenship’ with multicultural membership of a pluralistic society and in particular with preparation for engagement with the formal political system. This system, however, is one which students are quite distanced from because of their status as spectators of political institutions, rather than being active participants. The school is also active in making local-global links through project work and therefore connects with the dimension of global citizenship in the *Curriculum for Excellence*. It is these dimensions of citizenship education that I now wish to examine in more detail in the section below.

### ***Teaching for membership***

[This] is really a multicultural school and that’s one of the reasons it’s a great place to teach. The character of the school is so multicultural that I think it’s only fair and only right if the subjects we offer in the school tap into that multicultural background. [Mr. Ferguson]

[Work in relation to rights to non-discrimination] are just things that we've been doing for years and years and now we just do it automatically...I think we do this very well; in fact, I would say we do better than other schools. [Mrs. Duncan]

There was a strong agreement amongst the practitioners that teaching multiculturalism was an essential element of their teaching of citizenship. Crucial to this approach was a recognition that young people, as members of a wider, as well as a local, multicultural community, needed to learn values such as mutual respect, tolerance and humility and awareness of social inequality issues such as bullying, racism, discrimination at local and national levels as well as conflict, human rights and terrorism across the globe.

Whilst having positive multicultural views and values was regarded as an essential characteristic of a good citizen, a distinction was made between 'being' and 'acting as' a multicultural citizen. The former entailed the acquisition of minimal knowledge and attitudes to become a responsible 'law-abiding' citizen who does good deeds in the community such as donating to charity or helping others in need. The latter embodied a maximal sense of a 'justice-oriented' citizen, who takes action against prejudice and discrimination on behalf of those who are marginalised and excluded rather than remaining as passive spectators.

As the quotes above show, the focus on multicultural citizenship was related to the cultural and ethnic diversity of the student population as well as of the local residents in the communities surrounding the school. This in part reflects the history of the school as a community institution aiming to have a productive relationship with a diverse population, and reflect this in its practices and curriculum. Hence, teaching multicultural citizenship was a natural or 'automatic' response of the practitioners to engage with demands from within and outside the school community. On the other hand, the practitioners also pointed to external drivers such as the official educational policy agendas of global citizenship and international education as being at

the heart of their delivery of multicultural citizenship (LTS, 2011). Key to this acknowledgement was the government's emphasis on "modernised" civic nationalism (Arnott & Ozga, 2010) which promotes an understanding of Scottish national identity as inclusive, embracing the identities and experiences of all people living in Scotland. One respondent recognised Scottish devolution in 1999 as a 'turning point' in providing young people with opportunities to rediscover and redefine "what it means to be Scottish in a way that was never done before" [Mr. Campbell].

The nature of learning for multicultural citizenship observed here was somewhat different from the previous rhetoric within the school in that it was more about constructing a new, 'common' civic identity, based on both diversity and unity. Undertaking this was viewed as crucial in order to resolve increasing social problems, such as social exclusion, disorder and community disintegration, and to achieve the government's vision of a new 'multicultural Scotland'. The main aims of citizenship learning and education were to develop a 'good neighbour' who on the one hand, has a strong sense of belonging and respect for others and on the other, actively contributes to the process of building a good society that is based on strong bonds, trust and relationships between its members.

### ***Teaching for entrepreneurial citizenship***

The political, social and economic contexts that we're currently living in is far more difficult than what it was like when I was at their age, 10-15 years ago. And 'the climate of optimism' is so important, because it's really hard for young people to move from school to work and a lot of them have got very little optimism about where they are going... Often they disengage from school [without realising] that what happens in school is going to give them choices and chances outside school. It's just really quite pessimistic, especially given the current economic situation. There are so little opportunities in terms of apprenticeships and college places and universities are so competitive now. [Mr. Ferguson]

As Mr. Ferguson's quote above illustrates, there was a heightened awareness of the 'risk factors' in society, particularly in relation to the current economic climate, e.g. the recession, youth unemployment and austerity policy measures such as public spending cuts, which make it difficult for young people's transition to a full 'working' citizenship. From this viewpoint, there was an increasing belief that school, or formal education, is responsible for equipping young people with the core knowledge, skills and experiences needed for their participation in paid employment and economic activities.

This approach involved partnerships with programmes and activities *outside* the formal curriculum, such as extra-curricular activities and accredited learning opportunities, e.g. the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, the John Muir Award, the Eco School Project and the Kenyan Partnership. Involvement in these programmes was seen as particularly important for young people to earn extra 'credits' and 'qualifications' in order to enhance their employability and competitiveness in the job market.

The practitioners rarely made explicit reference to the official curriculum in their approach to teaching for economic citizenship, but what they did articulate was consistent with the rhetoric of the *Curriculum for Excellence*. Firstly, this was evident in the practitioners' identification of the positive outcomes of learning economic citizenship, which was described largely using the curricular language of 'skills', 'capabilities' and 'attributes'; examples were business and other general life and transferrable skills, capabilities to work in partnership with others as a team and to take ownership and leadership; as well as attributes such as an enterprising, 'can-do' attitudes, resilience and self-reliance.

Secondly, they adopted a broad conception of economic citizenship which encompassed the social dimension. As discussed in Chapter 4, central to the current curricular approach to teaching economic citizenship is the idea of developing 'social entrepreneurs' who possess moral and social sensitivity and participate in unpaid social activities such as fundraising, charity work and voluntary activities in the community. What is seen here is an emerging

discourse of neoliberal pedagogy which seeks to conflate two fundamentally conflicting agendas of education for citizenship:

- a) economic citizenship that prioritises private interests, self-reliance, profit-making and market choice;
- b) social-democratic citizenship that emphasises collective responsibility and a broader struggle for equality, inclusion, social justice and welfare.

Therefore, the promotion of the idea of social entrepreneurship can be highly problematic because it fails to offer opportunities to re-assess the complex relationship between different conceptions of citizenship that are crucial for learning for democracy.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the practitioners' adoption of the broad conception of economic citizenship can be interpreted as a resistance to a simple neoliberal vision. For instance, Abowitz and Harnish (2012, p.662) note that "whilst the neoliberal discourse in education is very powerful, educators rarely take up the neoliberal discourse as an explicit discourse of citizenship... in part because its model of *homo economicus* — the human being as an essentially economic animal — reflects an individualism so severe as to be incompatible with the civic ideals long associated with democratic public life and common schooling".

As discussed later, these approaches to economic citizenship seemed to have a significant impact on the students' understanding of, and attitudes towards, citizenship, in that both being in waged employment and involved in voluntary social activities were regarded as crucial elements of a good citizen, who is independent and socially responsible as well as committed to the democratic ideals of the welfare state.

### ***Teaching for formal political participation***

[I think the students are] slightly apathetic. [Politics] is alien to them. They are quite used to being spoon-fed: they are

told about things and when it comes to taking ownership and doing something it becomes more of an issue for some, not all, but some... I am amazed sometimes at that so many young people don't even know who our First Minister is.  
[Mr. Ferguson]

With the 3<sup>rd</sup> year students, I am looking at how elections work at the moment. I am saying the bare minimum of an active citizen is somebody who casts [his/her] vote. Rights and responsibilities are two key concepts in this part of the course and so I tried to teach them 'you've got a right to vote but that brings about a responsibility to take part in it.  
[Mr. Campbell]

Political literacy and formal political participation were core elements of the practitioners' teaching of citizenship. As seen in the first quote above, emphasis on these themes was often associated with concerns about the students, who were depicted as apathetic, disengaged and lacking basic political literacy, therefore not able to 'name the First Minister'.

The practitioners identified various factors as possible reasons for the students' apathy and disengagement from politics, including the attitudes of their families and peer group. Whilst these influences may be important, the reality for young people is that the rules of formal political participation position them as spectators rather than as active participants. This demotivation and the lack of any realistic possibility of young people having an impact on political decisions through such processes unsurprisingly lead to an alienation from both political institutions and the educational activities that seek to engage them with it. Therefore, whilst the teachers aimed to challenge views such as 'politics is boring', 'political participation is *not* cool' or 'politics is simply a waste of time', the emphasis on these aspects of citizenship could also be seen as merely reaffirming the status of young people as citizens-in-waiting; spectators rather than active agents of politics. To overcome this paradox, staff attempted to create a more enjoyable and lively learning environment. This included teaching techniques such as visiting the Scottish Parliament, inviting guest speakers from the local



council and organising mock elections as well as student-led discussions and debates in the classroom.

One of the most important themes of this approach was voting, and related political literacy that were deemed essential for young people to make informed decisions. This included learning about Scottish democracy, government, political leaders and ministers as well as political parties, trade unions and other pressure groups. Whilst there were themes from local and global politics, e.g. councils, local representatives, (international) non-governmental organisations and transnational agencies such as the World Trade Organisation and the United Nations, most of the learning content was related to national Scottish and UK politics and formal engagement with these.

Consideration of the European dimension was absent or very limited. For instance, despite the emphasis on voting, there was little discussion of topics such as European elections, the roles of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and European institutions, let alone European citizenship. This did not mean there was a complete lack of any study of 'Europe' at the school, however, the practitioners seemed to rely more on informal provision from agencies and organisations *outside* the school, rather than on formal classroom teaching. For instance, several students took part in a national project called 'Lessons from Auschwitz' for Holocaust education. Yet, these opportunities were quite irregular and only involved a group of a few selected individuals, often those who were *already* actively engaged learners, which means that the vast majority of the students were (potentially) lacking opportunities to learn about issues of European politics and European citizenship.

This relative absence of a European strand in the practitioners' citizenship teaching seemed to be in line with the findings of the earlier studies of Robertson, Blain and Cowan (2004) and Jamieson *et al.* (2007) that Scottish young people tended to have a consistently low level of understanding of European politics and European citizenship compared to their associates in

other European countries. Formal education or school seemed to be an influential factor in these findings because Scottish young people were less likely to remember having had any experiences of learning about European citizenship or European issues in class (Jamieson *et al.*, 2007).

It is not to argue that the practitioners regarded European matters as less important than other affairs of local, national and global politics. In fact, this might have been a practical choice due to the allocated time and resource availability in the curriculum itself and, perhaps most importantly, pressure to prepare students for formal assessment and examinations. Nevertheless, the practitioners' focus on a particular level of politics and political participation seemed to be influential to some extent, in shaping the political attitudes of the students. A more detailed discussion on this will be continued in a later section.

### ***Teaching for activism***

We can educate about citizenship and look at social problems, and look at rights, responsibilities and laws, but I think there is more of a need to actually get them involved in it and make them more proactive about it, so that they become active citizens rather than bystanders. What it means to be an active citizen [can be said in a phrase of] simply 'doing something'. It could be small things; it could be voting; it could be to contribute to a food drive or recycling or it could be protesting or could be signing petitions. All these vehicles are parts of the umbrella of active citizenship. [Mr. Ferguson]

The practitioners generally agreed that one of the essential aims of citizenship education is to develop young people as 'active members' of society. These narratives often included a vocabulary of 'doing citizenship' which ranged from 'small' activities of everyday participation such as recycling or saving energy, to 'big' social actions and political movements to address issues of inequalities and injustice.

The practitioners acknowledged the importance of critical activity for democracy and to a large extent, they seemed proud of their students' engagement with social actions in the past, such as the anti-Iraq War protest, 'Make Poverty History' campaign and marches against an earlier threat to close the school. Yet, they did not think that school was an adequate site for 'critical citizenship' or 'activism' because this might involve expressing their personal views on controversial social issues. Hence, whilst informing students about various forms of citizen action and participation, the emphasis was more on 'neutral knowledge' by providing all views and perspectives connected to a social issue, rather than 'taking sides'. In other words, the practitioners' approach was more about learning for 'active citizenship', rather than 'activism' as such.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Education for Global Citizenship defines developing active (global) citizens as a fundamental aim of Scottish education as a whole. Crucial to this is a recognition of young people as citizens of the "here and now" and therefore provision of citizenship education should be more "connected and relevant to " the lives of the young citizens (LTS, 2011, p.20). Yet, the practitioners mentioned that doing so can be very difficult in reality because of a prevailing deficit notion of youth which depicts young people as either 'in trouble' or 'as trouble in themselves' in society. One respondent highlighted the 2010 UK student protest as a crucial incident in regard to this concern because it illustrated an identity of young people as 'critically engaged citizens' rather than as politically uninterested.

The practitioners also identified tokenism as one of the major challenges they face in teaching active citizenship. For instance, the students were encouraged to send letters to foreign embassies on issues such as prisoners' human rights and the landmine trade. But these letters were often ignored or replied to with a formal 'thank you for your letter' rather than with a genuine response to the issues the students raised. The practitioners noted that, since refusal and disagreement *are* legitimate responses of the democratic decision-making processes, it is important for young people to

learn about these. In contrast however, indifferent or tokenistic replies are likely to further alienate young people because it undermines the potential outcomes of their active participation.

The *deactivated* pupil council in the school was also an example of this. According to Mr. Campbell, after over a decade of existence, the management of the school simply decided to discontinue it because they thought, “the quality of the representatives weren’t very good”. Yet, he argued that “politics is about negotiations and compromises” and from this viewpoint, pupil councils offer crucial opportunities for young people where they can learn genuine political participation by being directly engaged with it [Mr. Campbell].

The above view largely resonated with the findings of the *Having a Say at School* research which suggests that pupil councils can be “vital laboratories of democracy” where young people practise participation in the formal decision-making of representative democracy (Children in Scotland & The University of Edinburgh, 2010a, p.3). Yet, they note that pupil councils are subject to many criticisms because they are perceived as “tokenistic and lacking in power” to make influence on actual decisions (ibid.). In order to resolve these issues, they suggest that adults’ commitment to work collaboratively with young people, to make decisions together, is crucial. But as Mr. Campbell above indicated, such a commitment was not yet present in the school.

## **What young people say**

This section focuses on the responses of two groups of students: one which was attending a Modern Studies class at higher level, which was led by Mr. Campbell, and the other who were members of the Kenyan Partnership project that was managed by Mrs. Duncan. While they were actively engaged with formal learning of citizenship, their involvement in

community-based learning activities varied in that some were not involved at all and others were frequently involved in a range of activities.

Before moving onto the findings, I will briefly introduce the students' responses to the Traffic Game, which they were asked to complete prior to the main interview questions in order to inform and locate the key objectives and agendas of this research. Table 6.1 below represents the students' attitudes towards specific issues of citizenship, citizenship learning and the most important features of citizenship for young people (page 202).

In crude terms, there was an even spread of attitudes towards the issues of membership. For instance, half of the students believed that they felt part of the community, whereas others were unsure or did not feel so. No student thought that people refusing to work should lose their rights as citizens. This was an interesting finding in relation to the students' accounts of economic citizenship, that emphasise paid employment and financial independence as essential responsibilities of a good citizen.

Largely liberal attitudes towards multicultural issues were observed. For example, the majority disagreed with statements such as "people with different religious views should attend the school according to their faith" and "the wearing of religious symbols such as a crucifix should be banned in school". Nevertheless, many of them still regarded that civil laws are more important than religious rules.

Students also seemed to be largely open-minded about both sexual and immigration issues. For instance, the vast majority agreed on the rights of civil partnership of LGBTs whilst only a small number of students believed that all people living in the UK should learn English. Most of them did not consider that immigrants are a major cause of conflict and hostility in Britain, nor that their rights to work should be restricted even when there are not many jobs available. In addition, most thought that foreigners living in Britain should be able to vote.

**Table 6.1: Young people's attitudes towards citizenship issues in school**

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. I feel part of the community.	6	1	4
2. All people are equal in Scotland.	3	5	3
3. People refusing to work should lose their rights as citizens.	0	6	5
4. People with different religious views should attend school according to their faith.	1	8	2
5. The wearing of religious symbols such as a crucifix should be banned in school.	1	10	0
6. Religious rules are more important than civil laws.	0	7	4
7. LGBT should have the same right to marriage as other people.	10	1	0
8. All people living in the UK should learn English.	4	3	4
9. Immigrants are a major cause of conflicts and hostility in Britain.	0	8	3
10. Foreigners living in Britain should be able to vote.	9	0	2
11. When there are not many jobs available, foreigners' right to work should be restricted.	0	8	3
12. Democracy depends on harmony, not disagreement.	1	4	6
13. Happiness does not rely on democracy.	2	1	8
14. The more power the government has, the more likely it is to resolve social problems.	2	6	3
15. Honesty and morality of a politician are more important than his/her abilities.	7	1	3
16. Government is doing its best to include young people in its decision-making process.	0	9	2
17. For a good cause, I would attend an unlawful march.	6	2	3
18. Young people are not interested in politics.	1	7	3
19. Young people are responsible for preserving Scotland's unique identity.	4	2	5
20. Young people should always take advice from older people when making important decisions.	6	2	3
21. School pupils should wear a uniform to show they all belong to the school.	9	1	1
22. School should teach more about political and social issues.	10	1	0
23. School should prepare young people for work.	9	0	2

Attitudes towards Scottish democracy and politics were somewhat more indecisive than others. They had difficulties in defining what democracy is, or should be like, as many of them were uncertain if democracy depends on harmony, or disagreement or if happiness relies on democracy. Moreover, only a small number regarded all people in Scotland as equal or said that

they would personally attend an unlawful march, even for a good cause. Nonetheless, many still agreed on the curtailment of the government's power and considered that honesty and morality of politicians are more important than his or her technocratic abilities.

Young people seemed to be largely dissatisfied when it came to issues of youth citizenship and their participation in society. For example, most of them felt that young people *are* interested in politics, however the government is *not* doing its best to include young people in its decision-making processes. Only a small number held the view that young people are responsible for preserving Scottish identity. Nevertheless, a sense of belonging seemed important for the students as the vast majority regarded that pupils should wear a uniform to show their belonging to the school. Many thought school is responsible for both young people's political socialisation and their preparation for work in the future.

### ***Learning for membership***

Laws are there for a reason. People just go around and break them, then, it's not going to be a good place to live.  
[Kate]

I would say help one another and donate to charity is one of my crucial things. I do a lot of voluntary works myself everyday. I work at a nursery. I help children at the care home, too. I love doing stuff like that because you are just being a good person, because you are helping others in needs. It helps you to appreciate life a lot more, so I think people should be always talking about charity, attending things, even giving a penny. It makes a huge difference to someone out there... [Liz]

As the quotes above note, the students' articulation of a 'good citizen' entailed two essential characteristics: law-abidance and engagement with social activities such as volunteering, donating to charity and helping neighbours. This finding was similar to what Smith and her colleagues (2005)

referred to as “socially constructive citizenship” that is “the practice of taking a constructive approach towards community, ranging from the more passive abiding the law, to the more proactive helping people and having a positive impact” (p. 436).

Although less popular, many students regarded law abidance as one of the most basic, yet essential characteristics of a good citizen, in order to maintain social order. From this viewpoint, most students agreed on a certain degree of constraint or restrictions on their personal freedom for the sake of the common good, such as justice and fairness as well as the wellbeing of the community as a whole. For other students, however, obedience to the law seemed to be understood as important but not a self-sufficient condition of good citizenship. As the second quote at the start of this section illustrates, these students often emphasised a more active form of citizenship, one which embraces moral characteristics such as compassion, empathy, philanthropy and ethical behaviours such as donating to charity, helping neighbours and participating in voluntary works.

Emotional factors such as a sense of belonging, connectedness and social trust were identified as primary factors that motivate young people to engage with social activities. Community was mentioned as a core site where they learn and develop these values.

Whilst a certain degree of desirability of volunteering and other social engagement was certainly visible, it was not always linked to their actual involvement in reality. Some students expressed their guilt about little or non-involvement saying, ‘*I should have been more involved*’, whereas others justified or legitimised their lack of involvement in relation to other prioritised duties of schoolwork, accredited learning, work placements, and (paid) employment which would help them to develop their academic profile and potential employability in the future.

Another key theme of the students’ narratives of leaning for membership was multicultural citizenship.



I think no one should be discriminated against. They should have the same rights and the same place in the community, so they shouldn't have judged for what they are or what they think. Everybody will also have different views and opinions. It's like you are responsible to understand them and not judge them because of their views. [Tanya]

As the quote above illustrates, central to the students' understanding of multicultural citizenship was critical conscience *and* action to challenge the issues of inequalities and injustice in society. This resonated with the practitioners' point about the distinction between 'being' a citizen and 'acting as' a citizen, in that a multicultural society depends on those who 'act as' citizens with capabilities and commitment to critical social action, rather than simply 'being' citizens with merely useful knowledge and understanding of different cultures.

The concept of multiculturalism was understood in a broad sense to include a range of issues of 'identity politics' from race, ethnicity and religion to gender, disability and sexuality, resonating with the practitioners' views. Students positively recalled their experiences of learning multicultural citizenship in classes such as Modern Studies, History and Religious and Moral Education (RME) as well as outside the classroom through extra-curricular activities such as the Kenyan Partnership Project. Many of them seemed to enjoy learning about multicultural issues at school because it offers opportunities for young people to learn and debate on various views in a secure, educational environment.

The nature of the community of multicultural citizenship depicted was fundamentally different from the previous descriptions of belonging, social trust and relationships in relation to social activities. Grounded in the students' recognition of issues of cultural inequalities and social injustice, the community in this sense was viewed as a site of critical action to speak against prejudice and discrimination and contribute to building an inclusive, multicultural society.

## ***Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship***

If you are working hard and paying taxes, you are helping the government and the whole country as a whole and not just yourself. So to be a good citizen, you need to do your part as well as helping everybody else by working hard and you will be raising enough money to pay taxes. [Peter]

Here's a question: does higher education guarantee employment? Not as much as it used to. They just used to hand out jobs but now it's so fiercely competitive once again because there are so many people applying for jobs now. So, to me, it's hard to stand out. [Allan]

I would probably keep [the minimum voting age] at 18 because that's when you start living on your own and if you are with your parents, to be honest, I am only 16-year-old and I don't really care about government. I don't even have a job, don't pay taxes, so I don't really have views...We are a bad generation, so I think we kind of feel 'what's the point in giving to the community? They are not giving much to us.' [Annie]

Similarly to the first quote above, there was a strong agreement amongst the students that economic contribution through paid work and financial independence are essential elements of a good citizen. Crucial to their rhetoric was *employment* and *employability*, that is the capacity to gain employment, which reinforced the role of citizenship learning and education as preparation for work and wealth creation, rather than political socialisation or learning for democracy. This resonates with Smith and her colleagues (2006), whose study of young people in England also found the increasing articulation of what they refer to as a "respectable economic independence model" to demarcate good and successful citizens from those who are not (p.432).

The students emphasised 'working hard and paying taxes' as the fundamental rights and responsibilities of Scottish citizens. This narrative was often associated with a particular sense of social duty or obligations of the welfare society to ensure the minimum living conditions of those who are less fortunate and to contribute to the overall wellbeing of the society. In this

perspective, the idea of social responsibility was in line with what Benedict Anderson (1991) refers to as a core component of an *imagined community* which stresses a duty of each citizen to contribute to national prosperity and wellbeing, based on an abstract, yet powerful notion of interdependence and inter-connectedness between 'imagined' members of society. Barry (2001) also emphasises that the realisation of egalitarianism "presupposes citizens who can think of themselves as contributing to a *common* discourse about their *shared* institutions" or the "politics of solidarity". The students' emphasis on (paid) employment and tax payment seemed to typify such a phenomenon. (pp.300-2, my emphasis)

The focus on the economic contribution to citizenship brought into the frame, perhaps indirectly, the need to distinguish between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. The deserving are hard working and morally responsible, but unable to be in employment due to innate reasons or misfortune (e.g., the disabled, single parents and victims of the recession). They therefore, have legitimate rights to the state's welfare provision. In contrast, the undeserving are lazy, irresponsible and withdrawn individuals who 'opted into' unemployment and dependency, hence ought to be rooted out rather than cared for.

Interestingly, many young people seemed to detect a tension between the deserving and the undeserving poor in that they often regarded young people themselves as the latter, despite their inherent status as 'becoming' citizens who cannot make as equal an economic contribution as adult citizens. Here, as the second quote above depicts, there was a heightened sense of fear and despair about the current social and economic climate of rising youth unemployment, a competitive job market and declining welfare provision which impose a huge burden on the students' attainment of 'working' citizenship.

These accounts were noteworthy in relation to what Cote and Bynner (2008) address as a problem of what they term an "emerging adulthood" amongst contemporary youth, whose transition to this status is deferred by the

difficulty in obtaining financial independence due to the unfavourable economic conditions. They note:

...this hiatus in the life-course, which is increasingly referred to as emerging adulthood, can be better explained in terms of changing economic conditions to a lowering of the social status of the young that is contributing to increasingly precarious trajectories, and in terms of the decline in the social markers of adulthood associated with the individualisation process. (Cote & Bynner, 2008, p.251)

From this viewpoint, the students' focus on citizenship as economic independence and their contribution through paid employment, seemed to create a more exclusionary experience of citizenship in which young people are labelled as 'undeserving' or 'failed' citizens who are dependent, and irresponsible, deterring them from participation, not only in economic, but in wider social and political life.

Though the sample was too small for generalisation, such a concern seemed somewhat gender-particular and it was more evident amongst male students than female. A similar tendency was also shown when discussing the most important issues in young people's lives today, where more male students highlighted economic or employment-related issues compared with only one response from the female students. Interestingly, Mike, Allan, Peter and Annie, who expressed employment or employability as their primary concern, seemed to have more negative experiences during their previous employment or work placements. They were 'let go' and seemed more disengaged and disconnected from citizenship participation because they felt their participation was *not* valued. From this perspective, it was not surprising to find that none these students were involved in any activities outside the classroom, whilst all of the other students were involved in more than one activity (see Table 5.2 on page 154). There seemed to be a distinctive pattern of mutually reinforcing positive experiences that were likely to lead to further engagement with citizenship learning and practice and negative experiences that were likely to result in under- or non- participation.

Despite such differences, however, there was a consensus that school is an important site for young people's citizenship learning, especially in terms of 'preparation for work'. Besides business skills and entrepreneurial values such as creativity and leadership, the students also identified various positive outcomes of learning economic citizenship at school, including transferrable and social/communicative skills and ICT literacy. Acquisition of these skills and values were regarded as a requisite for as the development of *competitive* and *competent* individuals who are 'fit for' the rapidly changing environment of the employment market and work itself.

### ***Learning for formal political participation***

Voting in elections: well, that's extremely important because it's your voice in terms of who's in power and who's making decisions... This is your one vote you've been given. People worked hard for it for democracy to develop and it's ideal. I think that democracy is pointless unless people vote. [Allan]

We should [participate in politics] because even though some people might not be interested, like myself, the fact is it's mainly older people who are taking charge. We hold other views but people under 18, we don't have right to vote, but we still think something that they are doing is wrong and we want to have our say. We are not actually getting that just now. [Mark]

I think we are still far too young and easily influenced [by adults]. If you ask most people at our school, they have different political views. And you put them into political lessons, then their views will change completely. [Graham]

In many ways, the students' narratives seemed to overlap with the wider debates on youth (dis-)engagement in which there is a discrepancy between a high level of affiliation with the existing democratic values and system, especially voting, and willingness to take part in it. As the quotes above note, most students agreed that voting in elections is fundamental to maintaining

representative democratic systems and institutions by providing the principle of popular sovereignty for the elected government. Many students stated that voting was both a right and responsibility of a good citizen, to make their voice heard and have an influence on democratic decision-making.

In spite of such a strong emphasis on voting, the students seemed somewhat unsure or sceptical about the issue of the young people's eligibility for the right to vote. Mark's and Grahams' quotes above illustrate different arguments of young people concerning this matter. One is associated with a sense of political literacy, that young people do not have an adequate enough understanding of politics to make an informed decision. The other argument is connected to young people's right to have a say, that young people's views and voices need to be listened to on all matters affecting their lives because it is their fundamental right, not a conditional one which depends on maturity or ability.

Regardless of their agreement on the minimum voting age issue, the students, in general, seemed to have a rather low trust in the efficacy of young people's participation in politics. From this point of view, as far as the young people were concerned, the voting system symbolises (political) inequality and there are contradictions in the existing democratic system, where young people are essentially disempowered and excluded from mainstream adult-led politics and political participation.

Unlike the practitioners who underlined apathy, disinterest and lack of political literacy as the main reasons for young people's disengagement, the students seemed to recognise systematic limitations *beyond* their reach, by which they are either fundamentally excluded from participation or, at best, tokenistically involved without favourable outcomes for their lives as young citizens.

A lack of trust towards the current measures for political participation of young people was common. Most did not think that the government is doing

its best to include young people in its decision-making processes (See Table 6.1 on page 194). Such a negative perception was associated with the overall conception of formal politics and political participation, particularly traditional party political players such as politicians and trade unions.

Once I gain work, I'll probably be joining a trade union because as a group your views are seen more. None of the others, not really joining a political party: it's too much for me. I don't really like debating because you have to prepare too much and once you are in a debate, you can't really get out of it... And most political parties, even if they know something is wrong with their argument, like flaws, they don't really back out... I think joining a political party is too much hypocrisy and stuff. [Peter]

Another student questioned the social background of politicians, belonging to a particular — white, middle class, privately educated — social class, who would then represent the interests of their own kind of people, rather than the general public and young people.

The students' apathy about politics and political participation seemed more of an 'abstained disengagement', affiliated with feelings of disappointment, frustration and scepticism over the exclusionary nature of the existing political systems, institutions and culture. From this perspective, they regarded the current policy measures to involve young people in politics during the Scottish referendum, including lowering the minimum voting age, as merely being a nascent stage whereby youth participation still had very little meaning for their own wellbeing. Nevertheless, these negative feelings of disconnection and alienation from formal politics were not surprising.

### ***Learning for activism***

Politics is always around us and when you grow up, it's still going to be around you, so when you get involved and interested when you are young, you would get more of

understanding of the world — how it works and what goes on. [Karine]

Unlike their teachers' depiction of indifference, disinterest and apathy, the interviews with the students revealed that some students *were* political in relation to various social issues, e.g., education, welfare, work/employment, immigration, animal rights, human rights, environmental issues, social class inequality, gender inequality and racism. They recognised and problematised important matters affecting young people and, to an extent, were engaged with social and political action to challenge these issues. In general, they regarded the notion of critical consciousness as a prerequisite for democracy, where disagreement and dissent are essential to regulate and balance the (arbitrary) power of the government and other democratic institutions and potentially bring about fundamental changes in society. Nevertheless, the students were still somewhat reluctant about actual involvement in social and political action. In this respect, a weakened sense of political efficacy, i.e. I, a young person *cannot* make a difference, still existed.

Some students' narratives resonated with the *New Politics*, explained in Chapter 2. Norris (2003) suggests that the *New Politics* of young people encompasses more extensive and inclusive means and issues of citizenship action. Therefore, there should be a radical shift in the ways we conceptualise politics and political participation in order to uncover youth activism. The first quote above depicts this argument in a student's words. The *New Politics* might create bridges between different aspects of students' everyday lives and the traditionally 'boring' or 'alienated' learning and practice of the old politics. They can become what Henrik Bang (2005) refers to as "everyday makers" whose political participation is based on everyday grassroots experiences. In this regard, many students used vocabulary such as 'small', 'little' and 'easy' in conjunction with 'participation' in both civic and political life.



An active member of community [is important]... It's not always like you have to do a lot, you just do a *little* thing, then makes you feel good. [Sarah, my emphasis]

That one [participating in activities promoting sustainable living] seems to me a lot *easier* to do because it's a *small* area. Yet, just small, we can still help and make a big difference in a big area. [Mike, my emphasis]

The students' rhetoric of the 'small' or new politics seemed to resonate with the national curriculum's emphasis on "active global citizenship" — i.e., "think global and act local" (LTS, 2011, p.5). A criticism of the emphasis on small actions in the new politics is that it might miss the significance of the larger political scene and the bigger issues which really make an impact on everyday lives. There were, however, mixed views amongst the group about engagement with the bigger picture of politics as expressed in the subsequent quote below.

Participation in marches and protests against the law are important because if we are to be ruled by the government, we should have the right to have a say. Especially in democracy, we should have right to express our views. [Annie]

In this respect, the student acknowledged the importance of critical consciousness and actions as a prerequisite for democracy. Collective action is a primary means of citizens being able to express their voice of 'disagreement', 'dissent' and 'discontent' through which the power of government and authority is regulated and monitored. However, this student's positive recognition of critical actions was not shared.

I don't think protests or any peaceful protests are democratic. I don't think anything do with that helps or does make any difference... It's only very rarely protests get taken into account by the government, I actually think of it, so I don't think doing that is going to make a huge difference. [Liz]

Liz's negative or sceptical view on current democracy, that is, democratic actions *cannot* or *do not* bring about changes, whilst it may seem negative, may also be realistic in some respects. Governments do often ignore the

popular will if they can. This analysis can lead to a cynical view of politics or it can lead to a more nuanced analysis of power and how to make change. If the latter outcome is to come about, then education has a role to play in learning for activism.

At the same time, critical consciousness is not always linked to actual action in reality. Many reasons for non-participation were identified, including: (a) lack of individual resources such as time, money, self-confidence, adequate knowledge and skills and; (b) institutional limitations such as low political efficacy, political distrust, lack of (acknowledged) opportunities for participation and negative (public) perceptions on youth and their social/political participation. These factors seemed to be often interwoven with each other, undermining or demotivating critical engagement.

From this standpoint, the widespread phenomenon of political disengagement amongst these students seemed to be a 'realistic' and 'reasonable' choice for the young people, whose right to participation is essentially denied by the so-called 'democratic' system itself — regardless of their actual sense of social responsibility, therefore moving further away from the national curricular goal of 'young people as *citizens here and now*' by making them (as Allan above notes) rather more "vulnerable" than empowered.

## **Discussion: between liberation and domestication**

Education for citizenship is a highly contested domain where conflicting ideas of socialisation, social control and liberation co-exist. Davies (2001, p.302) observes that many citizenship curricula practices aim "on the one hand, to foster compliance, obedience, a socialisation into social norms and citizens' duties; and on the other, to encourage autonomy, critical thinking and the citizen challenge to social justice." At the same time, what students learn about citizenship has to take into account not only what they are taught

through the curriculum but also their active construction of knowledge which brings into play their wider experiences, acquired in the family, home, community and society. Students are not simply empty vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge and what teachers intend, and what students learn, may differ significantly.

The narratives of teaching and learning citizenship encapsulate different — overlapping and contradictory — ‘multiple realities’ of citizenship education in the school setting. In this sense, instead of thinking about the school curriculum in terms of a coherent overarching narrative of citizenship education it is more accurate to think of multiple narratives with divergences. Table 6.2 below outlines the main similarities and differences amongst these narratives of the school and students (page 216).

To summarise, the teachers’ narratives resonated with much of the rhetoric of the official curriculum of Education for Global Citizenship (EGC) in that they emphasised several agendas of ‘modern Scottish nationalism’ including multiculturalism, economic prosperity, formal political literacy and engagement, especially voting, and community engagement. Yet, there seemed a tension between delivering these national agendas and the ideals of liberal education, i.e. autonomy and critical thinking, amongst the informants, reflecting wider debates about the contested nature of education and citizenship.

Whilst a prerequisite for young people’s development as democratic citizens, these ideals of autonomy and criticality essentially define the fundamental demarcation between full — mature, responsible, capable — adult citizens and young people as ‘becoming citizens’ or ‘citizens-in-waiting’. In principle, the school seemed to understand empowerment of young people and their right to participation as equal citizens in the ‘here and now’ as important aims. Yet, their realisation of this often seemed to be adjusted and modified with the perceived idea of their students more as ‘becoming citizens’.

**Table 6.2: Converging and diverging views and perspectives between practitioners and young people in school**

		Learning for membership	Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship	Learning for formal political participation	Learning for activism
Overlapping views and perspective		<p>Emphasis on 'good' personal traits: law obedience and carin</p> <p>Difference between minimal (law-abiding) and maximal (actively engaged) citizens</p> <p>Focus on social activities</p> <p>Formal citizenship education for learning anti-racism</p> <p>School as an object of study: a 'multicultural' school community</p>	<p>A heightened sense of 'risks' in society: the economic crisis and youth unemployment</p> <p>Emphasis on economic independence and participation as key responsibilities of a citizen</p> <p>Formal citizenship education for enhancement of employability and life skills</p> <p>School as preparation for work</p>	<p>A deficit-oriented approach</p> <p>Focus on political literacy</p> <p>Voting as a central issue of youth political participation</p> <p>Formal citizenship education for young people's re-engagement with politics</p> <p>School as a site for practising democracy: e.g. mock election</p>	<p>Young people as citizens of the here and now society</p> <p>Emphasis on a need for positive recognition of youth participation in society</p> <p>Issues of tokenism: pupil council</p> <p>Focus on 'everyday making'</p> <p>School values active citizenship but doesn't offer a space for youth participation</p>
Different and contrasting views and perspective	Practitioners		<p>Economic participation as a core responsibility of a citizen: 'effective contributors'</p>	<p>Issues of 'uninformed students'</p> <p>Focus on formal <i>national</i> politics</p>	<p>Emphasis on 'adjusted' expectations of youth participation</p> <p>Educator's role: neutrality vs. responsibility for creating critical citizens</p>
	Young people		<p>Economic participation as a source of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' citizens</p>	<p>Young people as marginalised citizens from mainstream politics</p> <p>Negative attitudes towards partisan politics and traditional political organisations</p> <p>Voting as a <i>conditional</i> right: age and experiences</p>	<p>Focus on single-issue politics</p> <p>Issues of non-participation: political inefficacy and a lack of incentives</p>

This seems plausible in light of the school's emphasis on responsibilities and duties to conform and assimilate with existing adult-dominated politics and society. In the sense that students are taught to 'play by the rules' of the dominant system (learning for membership and participation) the

curriculum limits the agency of students to a form of political participation that they can only be partially active within.

The adult world of politics is something they must wait for and in the meantime they can engage in preparation for work, volunteering in the community and acquiring the attitudes and values appropriate for a plural and multicultural society. However, a more liberatory approach to the political agency might engage not only with the right to participate in what exists but also to re-write the rules, beliefs and interests that underpin citizenship in society. The students' accounts evidenced these ambiguous and contradictory ideas of citizenship, and citizenship learning at school, in which the existing social, cultural, educational and political norms around so-called age-ism were often recognised as an actual challenge to their confidence in and adherence to democracy and democratic participation.

Meanwhile, entrepreneurial citizenship appears as a strong motivation amongst the school practitioners and amongst the students. The vocabularies of neoliberalism were prominent in defining and describing good and desired citizenship. Van Houdt, Suvarierol and Schinkel (2011) note that, in response to the internal and external pressures of globalisation, especially in terms of the global market and international migration, many western European countries have evolved citizenship as a crucial element of political programmes on population management. It combines a neoliberal idea of individual responsibility and self-regulation with a communitarian idea of community.

In doing this, Van Houdt *et al.* (ibid.) observe some radical changes in how we understand citizenship, including: (1) "(re) formations of *social contracts* between (potential) citizens, civil society, the state and the market" by shifting responsibilities from the state or the market to individuals; (2) "a renewed *sacralization* of the nation" which requires specific mobilisation of responsibilities and duties for the common ideal of wealth creation and economic prosperity; and (3) "a form of citizenship that involves an increased emphasis on the need to *earn* one's citizenship" which

distinguishes the deserving — responsible, capable, contributing, effective citizens — from the undeserving — incapable, dependent, irresponsible citizens (p.410, original emphasis). In this context, employment and employability became key ingredients of defining (good) citizenship, demonising the condition of unemployment.

Whilst age was identified as being at the core of youth exclusion and disempowerment in citizenship, the narratives of the school group, both practitioners and students, depicted rather complex realities of citizenship learning and development in which disadvantaged young people are perhaps further marginalised than any other groups in the population because of their age. From this perspective, though considerable improvements have been made since the ratification of the UNCRC in 1991, the issue of young people's 'right to have rights' seems to deserve further scrutiny.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was in relation to the teaching and learning of citizenship for formal political participation that tensions and difficulties arose in what teachers tried to do and what students learned. The fact that students are not able to legally participate in such processes because of their age reduces the opportunity for teachers to make relevant connections to immediate experience for students. It also tends to emphasise what students do not know rather than what they do know and this is easily 'translated' into disinterest or apathy. This was compounded by letter writing campaigns which were routinely ignored and, in this context, the absence of a student council reduced the one opportunity for formal participation in the micro-politics of the school.

One strategy for practitioners to address this state of 'waiting to be a citizen' relied on stressing the responsibility, and therefore moral duty, of students to vote when they become eligible. But rather than motivate an interest in the formal political sphere the response of students was to respond with mixed views on this and perhaps with a well-calculated apathy towards the formal political process. Understandably, when politics is presented to them in more

active ways, and in ways that they can freely enter into, on terms that they can control, the disinterest in the formal sphere of political processes and procedures is transformed into a more active political agency with a wide range of issues. However, it should be stressed that such attitudes and engagement are not widespread amongst students. But the potential to spark an interest and an engagement in different forms of political activism seem to be much greater than formal schooling capitalises on.

Though some positive practices were mentioned, the school group's narratives seemed to indicate that the teaching and learning of citizenship at the school is at a somewhat nascent stage where teachers/staff have insufficient resources including time, money, personnel and organisational networks. What was of particular note, was that the curriculum — which primarily defines citizenship as an overarching aim of Scottish education as a whole — was identified as one of the main obstacles to democratic citizenship education by undermining citizenship in the name of 'educational accountability' e.g., national assessment, qualifications and school league tables.

...because the curriculum is very busy. As much as I'd like to do a lot more stuff, I understand that we don't have the time or the money. [Mrs. Duncan]

Such views were also shared by many of the students in terms of their rather uneven awareness of and involvement in civic and democratic participation, due to a lack of time, space and energy in relation to academic and other (formal) curriculum-related priorities, including accredited learning. From this viewpoint, school appeared to be a somewhat inappropriate or at least, a limited place for young people's learning and practising of citizenship, which re-raises the question of school-centred policies of citizenship education in Scotland.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the analysis of data from the school setting by comparing the teaching of citizenship from the staff perspective with the learning of citizenship from the perspective of school students. In many respect, the findings echoed the official policy agenda of Education for Global Citizenship which focuses on multicultural membership and service work in communities, wealth creation and learning for work, political literacy and formal political participation. There was a good deal of overlap in these perspectives particularly in relation to issues of membership and employment. There were, however, divergences over the focus on formal political participation and activism. For practitioners, the issue of preparation for future citizenship rights was a key part of their curriculum, despite the fact that for the young people it tended to be the aspect they felt most alienated from in that their status denied them an active role. The lack of school opportunities to actually practise political participation reinforced this distance between the student experience and the actual curriculum. Nevertheless, school practitioners valued critical capacities and justice-oriented action as crucial elements of citizenship learning for democracy. In contrast, however, young people rarely seemed to find a real space at school where they could exercise their agency as critically engaged individuals. Instead, participation was often limited, without even the 'invited' spaces of decision-making being made available.

In relation to citizenship and activism, again there were differences of perspective. Whilst school staff accepted its value they did little to actively promote it themselves in the curriculum. For school pupils there was enthusiasm, in some respects, for being engaged in activism in the sense of being 'everyday makers' but this was limited and did not easily scale up to engagement in wider protests or activities which are more overtly political. The following chapter explores the role of learning and education for citizenship in a community setting, making a comparison between the activities of community educators and the experiences of young people who



are engaged in this setting. The subsequent chapter makes a comparison across these different sites.

## **Chapter 7**

# **Citizenship Learning through Community Engagement**

### **Introduction**

In the previous chapter it was argued that teaching for citizenship was a contested domain, involving multiple narratives of citizenship, and that students' experiences of learning were shaped by these and by the specific local factors of the school's context and their own personal background. This chapter focuses on the experiences of two different groups; firstly, the role of community educators in programmes of citizenship education in the community; secondly, the learning experiences of a group of young people learning citizenship through their active involvement in the community. The framework applied in the previous chapter is used so that the next chapter can focus on a comparison of the overlaps and divergences between these two distinctly different contexts and groups, involved in teaching and learning citizenship in both formal and informal settings.

Before presenting the views of the two groups it is useful to reflect on the role of community in policy and its meaning for community education. One of the claims made for the distinctive nature of community education is its apparent freedom from formal educational structures, programmes, teacher-student relationships and concerns such as assessment and certification which are commonly found in schools. Instead, a central axiom of community education is 'working where people are at' in the sense of meeting people on their own territory as well as engaging them educationally in an informal way around their own expressed concerns and interests. This implies that the main focus of educational work derives from the lives and context in which the young people are situated. Is this the case? How free is 'community' from the colonising interests of educational policy?

Community has become a crucial resource for undertaking citizenship education in recent policy making in Scotland. It is claimed that community as relevant "real-life contexts" not only provides an essential setting for "democratic and participative methodologies for learning" it can also reshape the agency of young people as "citizens now, not in waiting" by recognising their contribution to addressing social issues of the local community and wider society (LTS, 2011, p.13). Despite this seemingly progressive rhetoric of learning citizenship, the direction of travel in policy seems more towards ensuring that young people are engaged in the struggles of the labour market rather than struggles in the community and society. Having said that, the interest of young people in direct activism can still provide an opportunity for critical educational practice.

## **Concerns about community**

Firstly, community is mainly "an *object* of study and a resource that supplements the official curriculum" that, as discussed in the earlier chapter, tends to promote a more accepted form of 'good', desired citizenship (Zipin & Reid, 2008, p. 533, original emphasis). Here, community usually refers to

“locations outside the school — most often official agencies — to be plundered for curriculum content and activities”, where young people learn and exercise assumed virtues and characteristics of citizenship by engaging with services and activities within the community. (ibid., pp.533-5). These assumptions can contradict the ideas of critical, or ‘dissenting’ citizenship, a long-standing aim of (radical) community education, which essentially embodies re-thinking and re-constructing the *status quo*: i.e., the accepted facts and values of the community.

Secondly, community is largely described as a singular, universal concept of ‘shared’ identity, issues and interests, mapping out certain ideals which young people’s understanding and development of citizenship should be based on and aspire to. However, understanding community based on commonality and homogeneity (of place or locality, interest and function) (see Tett, 2010) can be highly controversial and problematic when considering the reality of many present-day, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-faith societies, including Scotland. Shaw (2008, p.29) reminds us that “these questions suggest that, far from generating harmonious social relations, community can create, or at least reinforce, social polarization and potential conflict; differentiation rather than unity”.

Thirdly, community can be a site for formal engagement where young people learn democracy through the existing parameters of participation, such as civic and political activities and debates. However this kind of participation is associated with “the process of sharing decisions which affect one’s life and the life of the community in which one lives”, from which young people have been, and still are, largely excluded and alienated (Hart, 1992, p.5). Authors such as Hart (1992; 2008) and Fletcher (2005) address unequal power relationships between adults and young people which are often ignored or undermined in the planning, implementation and practice of young people’s participation. They describe non-participation models, such as manipulation, decoration and tokenism, where the structures and rules of participation are mostly formulated and controlled by adults, and young people are “merely acting out predetermined roles”, that commonly

exist in society (Hart, 1992, p.9). This can avoid the need for power-sharing and for more genuine forms of participation where young people have the freedom to choose the degree of involvement, for both adults and themselves, and have an influence on both processes and outcomes of decision-making. This dovetails with the debate about the politics of participation and democracy: i.e., whether young people are simply 'invited' to institutionalised spaces of participation or play an active role in the wider process of social change and transformation.

Lastly, linked with the above is a need for a broader conception of participation which embodies a variety of expressions of young people's values, interests, behaviour and action and contributes to "the cultural mosaic of community life". (Percy-Smith, 2010, p.118) According to Percy-Smith (2006; 2010), the official curriculum conceives participation too narrowly, as an activity within formal decision-making processes, silencing the importance of informal, social activities of young people in the community. The literature on this aspect of participation and politics is extensively referenced in Chapter 2. If we understand citizenship education to include and develop young people as citizens of the here and now, a more expansive definition of participation, which embraces 'uncensored' social and cultural representations of young people in the community, is essential.

Reflecting these concerns, this chapter focuses on the experiences and voice of the interviewees, involved in a variety of informal, community-based educational programmes and projects of citizenship. However it starts with the experience of the community educators and their understanding of the role of education in learning citizenship and democracy compared to more formal programmes of intervention.

## **Community educators' perspective**

In the following section the conceptual framework deployed in the previous chapter is used as a means of organising and clarifying the attitudes and approaches to citizenship expressed by the two community educators.

### ***Learning for membership***

I think good character is important. The whole point of the community education workers' role is to work in the community, to encourage good characters, to encourage involvement, to share each other's expertise, so it's a holistic point of view rather than segregated or shutting doors as if you don't need any of the others. [Mrs. Watson]

I am responsible for youth participation which involves... doing anything to help young people play active role within civic life their own country... my understanding of what community education is about, is that it is always about democracy, citizenship and encouraging people to play part in society. [Mr. McKay]

The two quotes above reflect two related but distinctive versions of learning for membership: the first is concerned with social capital whereas the second emphasises engagement. In the first quote, learning for membership involves the emphasis on desirable personal characteristics and civic virtues of being a 'good neighbour' or member of society. This aligns with the idea of Putnam's (2000) social capital perspective, which emphasises the importance of civic participation in building trust between fellow citizens and the collective capacity to build a good society. Communication and other interpersonal social skills were identified as core elements of relevant learning and social activities such as charity works and volunteering were promoted as important aspects of membership.

The focus on social capital places the problem of citizenship in the context of a wider breakdown of networks of support in society which need repairing by rebuilding connections and relationships of trust between people. Whilst this activity may be useful it does not really say very much about the causes

of the damage to social networks, the context in which they occurred and how these may be addressed. The regeneration of social networks might be a necessary part of life in the community but its relationship with democracy is more problematic. The latter requires critical skills to define problems and their solutions.

Also the 'good neighbour' focus inevitably presupposes wider shared interests and values in 'the community' and describes what this involves in terms of relevant citizenship skills and attitudes for those who are part of it. Thus attempts at socialisation or integration involve a certain degree of compliance and consent to the accepted and, potentially, unproblematised or unquestioned norms of the community. Clearly building social capital is important for all collective formations but it is also necessary to question who benefits. Who and what is included or excluded? The danger of an unproblematised version of the good community is that learning for membership can adopt a conventional deficit view of young people, as needing to be socialised into the existing social order. The social order itself is placed beyond question.

Another version of learning for membership is implicit in the second of the quotations above. It relates to the idea of membership as a cooperative activity of sharing and being together rather than being atomised and self-interested. The community educator seemed to have in mind the young people who are alienated from both formal politics and from community engagement. The latter could become a resource for building a sense of identity amongst this particular group. The recognition of community engagement as the essence of membership largely resonates with what Lister and her colleagues (2007) refer to as 'thick' understanding of membership which is not confined to "a question of rights and obligations...[but] involves a set of social and political relationships, practices and identities that together can be described as a sense of belonging" (p.9). They note that "young people, immigrants and marginalized groups experience belonging to the citizenship community in diverse ways" whereby participation, such

as community engagement, plays a key role in their membership and belonging (ibid.).

### ***Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship***

Their [the current Scottish government] priority is very much on getting people jobs. In the past we were given resources and directions to go out and develop courses on democracy and government but I don't think that would now happen. Yet, the biggest problem ever is going to be the vote [for Scottish independence] that people will have to make. This is going to happen and as a community education service, we might not be able to play a significant role in that. [Mr. McKay]

Increasingly, the attitudes and skills for entrepreneurial citizenship are being driven by policy, which is fundamentally reshaping the purpose of practice with young people and the content of this work. The community educator quoted above had been involved with young people for a number of years and had developed democracy programmes with marginalised young people; the shifting policy context was beginning to make such work difficult to continue whilst providing resources for different types of intervention. His reference to the Scottish independence referendum highlights the irony of this situation. Young people at 16 years of age were eligible to vote in a decision which was of major importance to their future. However government policy, with its focus on an entrepreneurial model of citizenship, was diminishing the autonomy of the educator to develop political education for democracy.

There has been a noticeable shift in policy discourse in the last ten years from 'democratic civic renewal' to 'economic (re-) development' and 'wealth creation' (Crowther and Martin, 2010). The community educators raised a general concern about this development, with its potential to undermine the more important aspects of education such as wider personal development, social action and political engagement to bring about a more democratic —



more equal, just and inclusive — society. Mr. McKay pointed to the local authority's decision to discontinue his pupil council training programme after ten years, and the emphasis on more employability projects, as being a classic example of this trend.

Nevertheless, the community educators understood that developing entrepreneurial citizenship was important for acquiring (a) skills: those of employability such as social and communicative capacities and other transferrable skills and (b) attributes: economic responsibilities, competitiveness, self-reliance, self-management and resilience. In reality, the policy context meant that increasingly the programmes and projects these community educators were being expected to deliver tended towards entrepreneurship and employability, rather than reflecting other models of citizenship education.

In the current dismal economic conditions, in which youth unemployment is at unprecedentedly high levels, their response to young people and policy demands was perhaps not surprising. However, the issue is that the employability agenda invariably construes the problem of inability to get work as a defect of the individual rather than of the economic context of austerity and diminished opportunities for employment. In the context of citizenship employability programmes, the priority is seen as a remoralisation of young people as potential employees in need of the appropriate skills and attitudes to get into work. The appropriate knowledge and skills for democratic life are therefore given less significance.

### ***Learning for formal political participation***

They should participate in politics and the reason they should is because if they aren't paying taxes, one day they will, if they aren't 18, one day they will be, if they don't have right to vote...In fact, life is political; personal is political; political is personal; you can't separate these two.  
[Mrs. Watson]

Most young people have nothing to do with democracy;  
[they think] it doesn't affect their lives; it's a waste of time;  
it's boring. [Mr. McKay]

[I]t is one of the principles that we have in our pupil  
councils that youth participation is not about saying to  
adults straight that you've got to accept what young people  
say, but it's about enabling young people to be part of that  
pluralistic process... It's simply saying that we are now  
letting them [young people] play their game like everyone  
else. I've got an equal opportunity to make a change  
whereas in the past, they weren't in the game. [Mr. McKay]

In relation to the first quote, the importance of participation is valued for its two-way relationship with the personal as well as its wider implications for political life. But as Mr. McKay notes, young people are often turned off politics and do not necessarily see the connection between the two. From their own local surveys of young people, the community educators' findings confirmed what others have stated in the literature: many young people were indeed disinterested in, disengaged with and disconnected from formal politics and political activities. At the time of the surveys they conducted (2012), less than one in two of the young people who were eligible were registered to vote. It was unsurprising, therefore, that participation in the formal decision-making of political institutions was regarded as a pivotal element of citizenship education. This goal largely resonated with the policy agenda of youth empowerment, embedded in the UNCRC's article 12 (UNICEF UK, 2009).

In the opinion of the community educators, voting was seen as representing the fundamental beliefs of political freedom, equality and the right of citizens to legitimise and maintain democratic rule. On the other hand, the emphasis was also linked to the 2014 referendum for Scottish independence, with its extension of the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds for the first time. As a consequence of this development, there was an enthusiasm expressed by the workers to equip young people with the knowledge required to participate

in formal political processes and, in particular, a commitment to voting as a democratic right that needed to be used.

The difficulty of this approach to citizenship education is that the very institutions and practices which are seemingly remote to young people or, when they are closer to them, often seem in practice to alienate them, provide a difficult challenge for educators to overcome. This can also end up confirming the disinterest and indifference of young people to politics, which can then end up reconfirming young people as the problem, rather than the institutions and practice of politics. At the same time formal politics involves resources and decisions which can impede or help young people deal with the real problems they experience. In focussing on citizenship as engagement in formal politics, creating micro level experiences of participation is one response. However, in the school in which the community educators were based the pupil council had been discontinued. The final quote in this section emphasises the right of young people to have a voice in processes of participation, which can occur at the local level. It is the value of equality that is important. However, unless young people do get positive results from such experiences of participation in formal structures - in the school or the community - they are likely to dismiss them as manipulative and tokenistic.

Andrea Cornwall (2004) argues that the 'invited' spaces of participation may offer a limited scope for meaningful democratic practices, because the opportunities they create are owned by those who provide them in the first place. One way of addressing this might be by changing the content of such spaces so that they can more overtly connect with the things that matter to young people. In a similar vein, Coburn and Wallace (2011, p.59) critically observe the importance of power-sharing in order to prevent the mishandling of spaces of young people's participation which "in the wrong hands...could be taken as a vindication of the very adultism that it seeks to eradicate by creating spaces that are legitimised as the place where 'professional' adults and young people meet." Striking a balance between the needs and interests of young people and the invited spaces of participation involves a challenge both to the providers of these spaces, and to the young

people to harness them to their own interests and concerns. However this type of change might only come about through some degree of activism which tends to be de-emphasised in practice.

### ***Learning for activism***

... it's our responsibility to make sure that young people are at least heard, sometimes young people's views and ideas are inappropriate and unworkable. They need to be told why it is the case and being engaged in this kind of pluralistic relationship is a key one. [Mr. McKay]

Learning for activism was not a strong theme in the responses of the community educators. If it was promoted, it was largely understood in terms of promoting pluralism rather than anything more. The community educators agreed that community engagement plays a pivotal role in revitalising youth activity whereby issues, interests and debates of young people become the central focal point of their learning and exercise of citizenship. From this viewpoint, teaching activism was about effectuating 'pluralism' as an inherent principle of democratic society. The community educators' views on pluralism were also somewhat similar to the Alexander Report (HMSO, 2002[1975]) which viewed participation of marginalised people as a prerequisite for a liberal, pluralistic democracy.

Despite their commitment to a radical ideological vision for their work, the community educators also focussed on guiding or adjusting young people's 'inappropriate or unworkable' views, rather than potentially exploring what workable and appropriate might mean, which could unintentionally result in them colluding with, rather than challenging, the adult-dominant paradigm of norms, values and practices.

To summarise, in many ways the community educators' narratives about their work resonated with what Coburn and Wallace (2011, pp.13-5) label as the 'critical tradition' of youth work that:

- views knowledge and facilitation as problematic
- questions the ethical, social and political contexts in which facilitation and animation occurs
- concentrates on developing critical and reflective capacities in young people
- listens to young people's voices, shifting the traditional balance of power in the environment
- aims to create social change toward more just and inclusive practices

Having said that, the final bullet point above tended to be less significant in practice, probably because the young people who were involved in the programmes were not particularly active in the community or in wider campaigns and movements. The focus of their educational practice tended to be on other dominant discourses of citizenship such as learning for membership (good character, social capital, community engagement), learning for entrepreneurial citizenship (employability and self-development) and learning for formal political participation (political literacy and formal decision-making processes and practices). From this perspective, the gap between radical rhetoric but less radical practice is a problem to be addressed.

## **What young people do and say**

The second group of respondents focused on in this chapter are the young people, who were already active in the community in a voluntary capacity, rather than as part of a school programme, and were therefore engaging in learning citizenship primarily through their experiences of participation, rather than it being actively taught as a subject. In terms of geographical location they came from the same, wider community as that in which the community educators worked. They were not, however, the same cohort of young people that the community educators worked with, as described above in their citizenship programmes. In relation to the analysis of this

group, the same framework of different forms of learning for citizenship is applied in relation to their experiences of engaging in community life. As with the school sample of young people I also invited respondents to reply to the statements in the Traffic Game in order to provide a broad backcloth to their attitudes. Table 7.1 below summarises the young people's responses (page 235).

As can be seen from their replies, the interviewees had a strong sense of belonging to the local community, however none of these young people believed that Scotland is indeed an equal society. They also generally approved of a social right to welfare rather than making distinctions between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' in terms of entitlements and rights and responsibilities.

Attitudes towards multiculturalism were largely embedded in liberal democratic values and principles. For instance, most of them were open-minded and tolerant about different religious beliefs and customs and thought that schools should allow the wearing of religious symbols but that faith schools were unnecessary. However, their support for freedom of religion was not unqualified, particularly with regard to public security and the rights of others. The duty of migrants to learn English was generally supported and most were positive about immigration and about foreigners living and working in Britain. Their attitudes towards sexuality were also largely open-minded with unanimity of support for LGBTs' right to civil partnership.

Attitudes towards the existing political system and institutions were largely affirmative which might reflect their more active role in community life. At the same time dissent as an integral part of democracy was valued; the moral character of politicians was also seen to be essential for a strong democracy. Perhaps because of their own experiences there was a heightened sense of dissatisfaction or distrust when it comes to the commitment of the state to improving young people's social and political participation. Whilst recognising that young people have ambivalent experiences of politics in

practice there is clearly the view that they are, nonetheless, very interested. The school as well as the community were valued as contexts for learning politics and identification with the school was reflected in their support for wearing school uniforms.

**Table 7.1: Young people's attitudes towards citizenship issues in the community**

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
1. I feel part of the community.	9	0	1
2. All people are equal in Scotland.	0	6	4
3. People refusing to work should lose their rights as citizens.	2	6	2
4. People with different religious views should attend school according to their faith.	0	8	2
5. The wearing of religious symbols such as a crucifix should be banned in school.	0	10	0
6. Religious rules are more important than civil laws.	1	4	5
7. LGBT should have the same right to marriage as other people.	10	0	0
8. All people living in the UK should learn English.	4	4	2
9. Immigrants are a major cause of conflicts and hostility in Britain.	0	8	2
10. Foreigners living in Britain should be able to vote.	9	1	0
11. When there are not many jobs available, foreigners' right to work should be restricted.	0	10	0
12. Democracy depends on harmony, not disagreement.	1	3	6
13. Happiness does not rely on democracy.	7	2	1
14. The more power the government has, the more likely it is to resolve social problems.	2	5	3
15. Honesty and morality of a politician are more important than his/her abilities.	8 <sup>16</sup>	0	2
16. Government is doing its best to include young people in its decision-making process.	1	3	6
17. For a good cause, I would attend an unlawful march.	4	1	5
18. Young people are not interested in politics.	0	6	4
19. Young people are responsible for preserving Scotland's unique identity.	7	2	1
20. Young people should always take advice from older people when making important decisions.	1	7	2
21. School pupils should wear a uniform to show they all belong to the school.	8	0	2
22. School should teach more about political and social issues.	9	1	0
23. School should prepare young people for work.	10	0	0

<sup>16</sup> One participant responded to both 'agree' and 'disagree' as a mixture of both honest/morality and abilities were seen as important.

To recapitulate, the interviewees were open-minded, responsible, interested, 'engaged' citizens who possess a complex, critical understanding of the relevant citizenship and political issues and an aspiration to participate, to have an influence on decisions affecting their and other people's lives in the here and now. I next examine in more depth their responses to the different types of citizenship they experienced and at the different levels it occurred.

### ***Learning for membership***

Being an active member of community' ... just participate if someone comes to your door and ask you to do something. If the community is having a fundraising event, go along. Don't isolate yourself from the rest of the people. [Charlie]

I think a good citizen has to be part of the community more than just sitting back and letting people do the rest of the work for them. I think part of that is speaking out against prejudice and discrimination, because if there is discrimination in the community then you can't all work together and get things done. I think you have to care for other people more than yourself and also care about other countries because communities that give to other countries help a bit, so you are aware what surrounds you and your community. [Jess]

It is very easy to associate some of the young people's descriptions of a 'good citizen' in their responses to what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) described as a "personally-responsible citizen", referring to activities such as caring, helping, fundraising and volunteering. This type of activity can be predicated on the view of community as a homogeneous group as discussed in the earlier section on community. But as Shaw (2008) argued, community can be a source of exclusion and marginalisation. In the second quote above, the 'dark side' of community, as a source of exclusion through prejudice and discrimination is recognised. Jess, in the second quote, argues about the need to speak out for full membership of the community for those people who may be excluded. In recognising unequal power relations in community life, the good citizen in this sense extends the model of Westheimer and



Khane's "personally responsible" citizen to also address oppression and marginalisation.

However, in terms of membership, most interviewees described the pleasures and enjoyment of being part of many, diverse, activities through which they have a range of social experiences; in the vocabulary of social capital, bonding, bridging and possibly linking with different groups of people in the local and national community. The variety of activities and opportunities for involvement in the community seem important, not only for making the experiences fun and interesting, but also creating a more holistic spectrum of participation. This point is emphasised by Joe in the quote below:

I am part of a rugby club in the local community. It soon starts a tour and I am quite involved in fundraising... I am quite involved in organising events; speaking to different people; reaching out to different communities. I thought it was really successful; I really enjoyed doing that. Another area that I am involved in the community and it's a way of getting to know the players; older members who don't play anymore and it's a good way of knowing people in the area. [Joe]

The concept of community was pivotal to the young people's articulation of the 'good citizen', not only as a physical site where a good citizen is a member and carries out his or her rights and responsibilities, but also in terms of what Benedict Anderson (1991) refers to as "imagined community" where a sense of belonging is extended to the interconnected, interdependent people of the community. This viewpoint stresses the good citizen as one who possesses an ethic of caring and neighbourliness.

However, learning citizenship through community activity can also be for personal advantage too. There is nothing wrong with this but it does need to be recognised that such community activity can serve more than one purpose. The instrumental reference (*italicised in the quote below*) should be kept in mind.

*'Being active', obviously the universities are looking for that in people; obviously doing well in your exams are important; surely, you can work and you can have a hard work ethic and having that experience in the Congress and others and showing the experiences and being confident talking to different people; you are able to function properly as a person, as a good citizen. [Joe, my emphasis]*

This potential for involvement in community life, to demonstrate personal assets such as a positive work ethic, is seen as a means to assist future career prospects. In the context of austerity it is hardly surprising that young people need to think strategically about what they do in relation to this, even if this is not the main motivation for their participation. This more instrumental motivation was very evident, as we shall see in the following section in terms of entrepreneurial citizenship.

### ***Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship***

*Yes, I need to know about this stuff [citizenship knowledge / skills] to be a good person but there is also a lot of push towards getting into a good university, to get a good job as well as be a good citizen, but more towards the job... Let's say 'do this, and you are more likely to get accepted by the University of Edinburgh'. [Amy]*

For many of these young people, education in general was regarded as being crucial to gaining employment. But also being active and responsible members of the community was also valued in instrumental terms. Gaining experiences in the community was understood as an asset for accessing further educational opportunities and standing out from the competition. Informal, and in particular accredited learning opportunities, were clearly valued by some of the respondents perhaps as much as any wider civic, social or political benefits their actions might have on others. In this sense, participation in community-based learning and engagement was more associated with immediate, tangible *outcomes* which could be used for their personal curriculum vitae.

Perhaps as a consequence of the above, formal organised programmes and activities by local or national charitable and voluntary agencies or NGOs were preferred to informal ones which might be less visible (e.g., helping next door neighbours) as these can offer certificates or proof of participation (e.g. a reference letter). From this standpoint, young people seemed to accept these domains of employability and entrepreneurial citizenship projects, because they felt they were informed, engaged 'responsible' citizens who strived to perform and achieve better than apathetic or disengaged ones. In short, community engagement was also a way of positioning themselves in the struggle for work as well as the struggle to improve life in the community.

### ***Learning for formal political participation***

It [voting] is really important because all the women in the past protested to get us votes ... There is an issue of 'whether or not you want to vote', but you shouldn't neglect the right to vote. [Hannah]

In terms of formal political participation, attitudes were generally positive which might be expected from young people more predisposed towards a formal system of community participation and the Youth Congress in particular. They were in favour of existing democratic institutions and fundamental democratic principles such as freedom, equality and social justice. Not surprisingly, the narratives on voting were particularly well articulated and well-reasoned, helped undoubtedly by their frequent involvement in relevant debates with their peer group and in the community. However, many were rather cautious when expressing their support for the right of 16 and 17-year-olds to have a vote in the referendum for Scottish independence; some suggested it was simply a cynical manoeuvre by the Scottish National Party to achieve their long-term agenda of independence by including young people who are 'supposedly' in favour of it. Nevertheless, the inclusion of a new group of young people in the

referendum vote seemed to be a significant 'landmark' in terms of expanding their right to participate in political processes.

Many believed that they were "lucky" to be Scottish citizens because of the extension of social rights that were being acknowledged:

I think that we are an exceptionally lucky country and we are. We do have a lot of freedom and rights but [in some cases like] LGBT marriage you're not free to do that yet, but the reason it's so hyped up at the scale is the fact that it's not being ignored; there are things to be done about it and as it's taken into consideration. [Frankie]

General support for democratic institutions and values were held, alongside a more critical view on age barriers created by the traditions and practices of these bodies. They were equally critical of the age barriers to participation in a range of organisations which are part of the social and political fabric of the country:

Obviously at my age, I am not allowed to vote in elections. I am not allowed to join a trade union and I can't join a political party yet. Participating in a democratic process is quite difficult because there are so many adults influencing it but we shouldn't just leave it to adults. [Frankie]

The experience of age discrimination resonated with what Bell (1995, p.1) labels as 'adultism' — a term which "refers to behaviours and attitudes based on the assumption that adults are better than young people, and entitled to act upon young people without their agreement". But this assumption that adults knew best was not accepted. There was clear dissatisfaction with politicians and political parties as well as trade unions. Their involvement with professional politicians, political leaders and members of political parties and trade unions seem to aggravate their distrust and disaffection towards formal politics and its efficacy in representing or responding to actual demands of the people.

I don't really take them [trade unions] seriously... Recently, there have been a lot of things about trade unions. When it first started off, trade unions was a great idea — it had got to do with health and safety; they had never lights and

things like that. But now, they get discount cards and everything else is just commercial. It's all about we want this because we work; oh, we had a hard day so we are going to go on a strike during the [2012] Olympics; it's just so embarrassing. [Frankie]

Although Frankie's scepticism is perhaps an extreme case, it connects with a general alienation of young people from traditional political organisations along with other typical areas of democracy, government, politicians and political leaders. In contrast to this, learning in the community by engaging in practising citizenship through more direct politics was refreshing and welcomed.

### ***Learning for activism***

My grandfather was really big in local politics in Leith [an area of Edinburgh]. My dad is also very politically minded, he's got an opinion on everything. It's sort of goes through 'yes, it affects me'. It also annoys me and what am I going to about it? [Charlie]

We [my parents and I] do talk about things but I try...to keep an open mind, not to be persuaded towards what they say. I don't want to think something because my parents are like that. I don't think it's right. [Hannah]

I don't think one party really has everything right. So I don't think joining a political party is necessarily very important. And I think sometimes voting isn't that important; if you are to vote and do nothing about anything else, then it's not going to do anything. And I think if we don't get involved in things in the community, in like putting forward your ideas, just sign in the cross and get papers, doing anything really... like an active attempt to change lives. [Naomi]

The three quotes above are indicative of different ways in which activism was meaningful for these young people. The first quote reflects the fact that a predisposition towards activism was acquired, for some, from what they had

learned in their family rather than from school or from community education. Learning for activism is clearly missing from young people's experiences of community as a resource for citizenship. If young people are to learn this, as a meaningful way to think about citizenship, then it seemingly has to come from direct experience or indirectly from friends and family members. But of course there is no simple transmission of learning activism from the family to the young person. In the second quote, Hannah refers to the importance of being wary of the influence of her parents on her understanding and outlook. Hannah's mother is an elected member of the Scottish Parliament and whilst Hannah appreciates the opportunities her mother's involvement in politics has created, for understanding social issues and related political debates, Hannah is reluctant to simply listen to, or be "persuaded" by, the views of her parents.

The third of the quotes above begins to capture a critique of participation in formal politics and the need for more direct action to 'change lives'. This point of view was, nevertheless, focussed at the micro level of community rather than beyond it. However, this was not the situation in all cases. When asked about the range of issues young people were involved in, these were shown to be somewhat eclectic and operating at different levels: *beyond the state* through global issues of sustainable development, ecological living, human rights and Scotland's international relations with other countries in and outside the EU; *state level* through national issues such as the economic crisis, welfare reform, educational policies, the referendum for Scottish independence, social inclusion and youth issues (e.g. the right to vote, anti-social behaviour, juvenile crime); *below the state* through local community issues including discrimination against young people (e.g., no more than two young persons are allowed to enter a shop at one time), the school's unsatisfactory curriculum provision in some subject areas (e.g. Modern Studies) and local community development projects.

There was a conscious effort amongst these young people to build a meaningful connection between the issue(s) that interested them and their everyday lives so that getting involved in action and activities to challenge

and resolve them was something they could contribute directly towards. Such commitment was associated with a strong sense of social responsibility towards others, not only within their immediate community but also beyond; factors such as distance and difference, which can diminish individuals' 'perceived' impact of the issue on their lives, did not undermine their engagement with wider social issues.

In this respect, learning citizenship through community-based participation was recognised as providing a more 'neutral' understanding of social issues. Similarly, their involvement in the Youth Congress was interesting in this regard, primarily because it was a space for learning that was perceived as non-partisan, in the sense of exploring issues rather than encountering fixed political positions. The value of non-political partisan citizenship experiences was also evident in relation to their engagement with environmental groups in the local community. To a large extent, there was a sense of urgency over environmental issues because of the rapidly deteriorating impact on the quality of life of the planet as a whole, hence requiring prompt actions to stop, or at least decelerate, a further worsening of the situation. They valued action to raise awareness about, and volunteer in, 'ecological or sustainable life' activities, where *small* efforts in everyday life such as recycling, growing garden vegetables, saving energy and cleaning up the neighbourhood areas were seen as steps towards bringing about *big* changes.

Promoting sustainable living; we [my family] already have vegetable plants in our garden. I've grown them a bit. To me, it's not so much a big thing but I am kind of okay with it. [Amy]

The impact of these small endeavours at a private and local community level should not be underestimated; yet, these types of activity seem to put the focus on responsibility and resources back to each individual or community, for voluntary action to take place at a micro level without making necessary demands for changes at the macro level. Responsibility at local level for problems and concerns in the community can activate young people, it can provide a context for participation, but it might do so in ways which

depoliticise problems, in that the community can operate as a parochial focus for engagement. Young people who take on responsibility to respond to the consequences of problems have to be respected and admired but, at the same time, the fact that these problems may be created elsewhere, at a national level or beyond requires wider social action to address them.

## **Discussion**

In the following section four key themes will be discussed. Firstly, an important issue implicit in the above is the thorny issue of education and politics and that of neutrality. Secondly, the increasing prominence of learning citizenship for employability purposes arguably replaces democratic processes with market ones. Thirdly, a comparison of the overlaps and divergences between what educators and young people learn in the name of citizenship needs clarification and analysis. Lastly, the discussion will focus on learning for activism.

Firstly, linking education and politics can be problematic, particularly for employees who do not subscribe to the issue of neutrality in education and then engage in political education where they may reveal a more partisan point of view. Both community educators in this study, paradoxically, emphasised a liberal notion of 'neutrality' when delivering and discussing political issues and debates, whilst subscribing to a critical pedagogy of social and political commitment. Their focus on critical education was more about how they approached citizenship education rather than overtly stating their political opinions in educational settings. This approach usually involved what is commonly referred to as the 3D strategies (debate, discussion and dialogue) which are grounded in the principle of active learning and assume there will be more positive and effective outcomes of citizenship learning when young people are directly involved in constructing and making sense of their own understanding and experiences of citizenship. But this seemed to be only partly achieved in practice. For instance, young



people were encouraged to take ownership of the curriculum *during* learning by raising questions and participating in group discussions and debates. On the other hand, their involvement in other, associated stages such as planning, feedback and reflection was more limited. Despite a commitment to youth empowerment and participation by the educators, in reality, the young people seemed to have very little control over the citizenship programmes as their aims, contents and structure were organised and decided in advance of the young people's participation.

Secondly, it seems that the increasing emphasis on employability in policy is simply extending the colonisation of the more formal educational system into the community through its focus of citizenship education outside the school. It is not that employability is the only 'show in town' but as resources get directed towards this agenda the prospects for a broader and critical range of citizenship education are diminishing. Focussing on an entrepreneurial version of citizenship has, of course, very little to do with democracy, which needs to at least have some focus on the public and collective interests of the community rather than solely the personal assets and skills of the individual for the labour market. Moreover, young people wanting to position themselves in the struggle for work are increasingly aware of the instrumental value learning through community activity may offer in the job market. This is not to suggest that young people are merely cynical and calculating in their community engagement. Indeed, they clearly show an interest in a range of different types of citizenship activity at different levels of engagement below the state, at the level of the state and beyond. The type of opportunities they value most seem to be those which derive from engagement in non-political, partisan spaces for learning citizenship through activism in the community.

Thirdly, as Table 7.2 below shows there is a good deal of convergence and overlap in the positions taken by the community educators and the young people.

**Table 7.2: Converging and diverging views and perspectives between practitioners and young people in the community**

		Learning for membership	Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship	Learning for formal political participation	Learning for activism
Overlapping views and perspective		Focus on personal traits (e.g. neighbourliness and caring) and social capital	Employment as a key youth policy agenda	A deficit-oriented approach	Young people as equal citizens
		Emphasis on social activities	Emphasis on employability and transferrable skills	Focus on political literacy and voting	Focus on critical thinking and action
		Informal citizenship learning/engagement for youth socialisation	Informal citizenship learning and engagement for youth remoralisation	Informal citizenship learning and engagement for youth (re-) engagement with formal politics	Everyday participation
		Community as the 'unproblematic' source of a common identity and social trust			Informal citizenship learning and engagement for part of broader struggle for social change
Different and contrasting views and perspective	Community educators		A concern on over-emphasis on employability in community education	'Uninformed' youth  Voting as a primary <i>responsibility</i> of a citizen  Emphasis on formal political processes and participation	Community as a potential space for political socialisation  A radical rhetoric: emphasis on social purpose learning and direct activism
	Young people		Instrumental approach to community engagement: accredited learning	Youth as 'engaged' citizens  Voting as a symbol of youth's <i>right</i> to have a say  Negative attitudes towards mainstream politics and political organisations  Participation beyond formal political processes	Family as a primary source of political socialisation  Depoliticised understanding of participation

The overlapping views suggest that community educators and young people have a shared understanding of, and mutually support learning for, membership in terms of 'good' character traits such as neighbourliness, caring and connectedness. They also regarded involvement in activities such as volunteering and charity as being important. In this respect, the community primarily served as a source of young people's sense of

belonging and social capital, with learning citizenship being a fundamental part of youth socialisation. These characteristics do little, however, to improve young people's capacity to engage as political actors, either in or against the state (see Biesta, 2011a).

Both educators and young people supported learning for formal political participation, particularly formal political literacy, which was essential for enabling young people's involvement in politics and formal decision-making processes. However there were distinctly different attitudes in this area. Community educators believed that young people are lacking in citizenship experiences, thus they are in need of training and education opportunities. Community-based citizenship education was an intervention to tackle this issue of youth deficit and voting was a key objective of encouraging young people to become more engaged with formal political processes. By comparison, young people were more likely to identify their interests and issues as about their being excluded or marginalised from mainstream politics and political decision-making, rather than that they were apathetic or disinterested. The alienation and distrust young people expressed with the formal processes of democracy contrasted markedly with the value the community educators articulated in terms of engaging with it.

Young people shared strong negative attitudes towards formal politics, including traditional mass-political organisations (e.g. political parties and trade unions), politicians and political leaders and voting, mainly for failing to include young people's voices and views as equal to adults'. For them, the current agenda of lowering the minimum voting age in the Scottish referendum was integral to their fundamental right to have a say, as in as the UNCRC proclamation. This was closely linked to a call for participation *beyond* the 'invited' spaces of formal political participation.

Whilst there is little disagreement that the acquisition of knowledge and skills is essential for effective democratic engagement, many critics argue that an emphasis on political literacy is fundamentally problematic as it is more grounded in a deficit approach which regards young people mainly as

“lacking citizenship” and as “outside the community that acts.” (Nicoll *et al.*, 2013, p.1) From this viewpoint, too much focus on political literacy may marginalise or exclude what is referred to as the *New Politics*, the key characteristics of which are the emergence of ‘personal’ concerns as political issues and ‘everyday’ engagement as political participation, in which many ordinary citizens including young people are actively engaged.

Lastly, as for learning for activism, there were also mixed views. On the one hand, both community educators and young people commonly acknowledged that learning for activism is a fundamental aim of community-based citizenship engagement. This resonated with recent policy imperatives of youth empowerment, as the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) firstly proclaimed in 1991. Community served as the principal resource of citizenship education as a ‘lived experience’ where young people (re-)constructed citizenship as relevant, and being meaningful to their lives by reflecting their interests and concerns in active engagement. But, in a way, their commitment to collective action to change things through activism was understood as being outside of politics. So whilst there was a sense of criticality or urgency, particularly when acknowledging environmental issues and the quality of life on the planet, the types of action that were seen to be relevant were usually around raising awareness and volunteering; also emphasised was making *small* efforts in everyday life such as recycling, growing garden vegetables, saving energy and cleaning up the neighbourhood areas.

Engagement at community level can be a means for depoliticising issues, particularly if solutions to wider problems fail to connect the micro and the macro, the local level and the wider level of engagement. In learning through activism, therefore, it is not always the case that experiences are politicised and what might be missing from such experiences is the type of education that can deepen and broaden young people’s understanding. Without this, the connections between the local and the global can remain implicit rather than being consciously forged. The potential is there and the enthusiasm and sense of purpose expressed by the young people are the necessary starting

points for learning through activism. Realising the full potential of young people, by enabling them to make sense of their experiences through a critical lens of analysis, has to be something that educators need to bring to the situation. Otherwise, participation and activism can be very unpolitical; a contribution to citizenship may be the outcome but this may add little to democratic life.

## **Conclusion**

Power imbalance in youth participation programmes (i.e. adultism) was a major obstacle, causing (further) scepticism amongst the young interviewees about the *raison d'être* of youth participation and community-based citizenship education. The most distinctively contrasting views were over the nature of youth participation, where the community educators often linked their goals with a radical rhetoric of critical education, i.e. youth participation was considered to be a seed for their involvement in wider social movements, and helped to prepare them to engage critically with the formal institutions of democracy. Increasingly, however, this radical rhetoric differed from the policies that were imposed on them and the instrumental demands of young people's aspirations to improve their curriculum vitae and employability, a trend that has a tension with a struggle for social change or transformation.

The finding above is perhaps not surprising under the current neoliberal socio-political climate which often characterises young people as idle, dependent, and irresponsible and therefore lacking the work ethic supposedly at the core of the current economic crisis and the need for welfare reform. As a result, young people are pushed towards a focus on personal development as the main aim of their community engagement, and other community-based educational opportunities are seen as a way of enhancing their career prospects. Considering the potential effects of this on the extent to which young people can be a resource for social change towards

a more democratic society, the emphasis on the struggle to gain employment has to be seen as a political problem for democracy and an educational challenge for a critical pedagogy for learning citizenship.

The positive opportunity, as reflected in this account, is in the creation of non-political, partisan spaces for deliberation, which encourage young people's participation, not merely as a step to engagement in formal political processes and procedures, but as an opportunity to explore issues and concerns that allow them to think and act individually and collectively. However this can be seen in terms of taking personal responsibility for problems generated elsewhere, rather than providing a micro level context for analysing and acting against the wider forces that might have created the problems in the first place. Citizenship for democracy has to encourage dissent and a reform of the way problems are defined and dealt with but to achieve this, young people also need critical educational programmes that can support this development.

To return to the concerns of 'community' as outlined earlier in this chapter, the ambivalence of the term is that it can cover over a multiple of purposes and practices. This is its richness but also the problem it poses. Currently policy developments bring community into the service of a view of citizenship that has little connection with democratic life as understood in terms of difference and dissent from established values and practices. It is dissent, however, that brings life into democratic institutions and there always needs to be a healthy balance between the *status quo* and a critique of this. Young people are often a resource for the latter precisely because they can bring energy and enthusiasm for social change. Community education, aligning itself with the critical tradition, has to navigate the demands of policy, the marginal status of its profession and the morass of community, in order to contribute towards the development of a vigorous democratic life. If it fails to achieve these ends, learning for citizenship can simply end up serving conformity to the status quo or simply improving personal development and individual advancement.

## Chapter 8

# **Cross-site Comparison: Converging and Diverging Views and Perspectives of Citizenship Learning in School and Community**

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to compare approaches to young people learning citizenship in the context of formal education in school and in the context of informal community education experiences. Its aim was to explore the ways in which approaches to education and learning citizenship differed and therefore provided different contributions to citizenship education for democratic life. For instance, Biesta (2011a) argues that we need more opportunities to practise democracy rather than being taught to be (better) citizens and it might be expected that participation in citizenship activities in

the community would contribute to this too. It was anticipated, therefore, that these contexts would lead to very different experiences for teaching and learning citizenship, with the potential for reinforcing and enhancing educational opportunities whilst, at the same time, creating spaces for potentially contradictory and divergent outcomes to be evident in the relationship between citizenship and democracy. The contested nature of citizenship, education and democracy would suggest that divergence and convergence in the purpose and experience of learning citizenship would be equally likely. The results of the comparison are, however, less clear-cut in that there have been significant changes in Scottish policy and practice in relation to citizenship education and community education, since 2000, which have resulted in a greater degree of convergence rather than divergence between formal and informal sites of educational work.

The main argument this chapter illustrates is precisely this growing convergence between formal and informal citizenship education settings, where formal educational agendas of 'responsible citizenship' prevail in both school and community. Some of the main practices revolve around traditional citizenship discourses which refer to personal characteristics, volunteering and service work in communities, as well as knowledge of formal political processes and procedures, so that the contexts of school and community are marked more by similarity rather than difference. Furthermore, this convergence seems to be growing. The emerging discourse of what can be termed a neoliberal version of citizenship and democracy, which prioritises economic participation i.e. that young people have to acquire the knowledge, skills and experience to get on and get into the labour market through their own efforts, is strongly evident in school and community. This focus on economic participation to be a full member of society also preoccupies young people who are in that transitional stage of leaving school and facing the problem of a collapse of employment opportunities. At the same time, this development serves to encourage a depoliticised and individualised market model of society, i.e. a *responsibilised* version of citizenship rather than one that emphasises the collective needs and interests of the wider community and society.



Nevertheless, the dominant model of the relationship between citizenship and democracy is still based on a liberal version of individuals participating in a representative system of government. The contradiction is that participation in formal political processes and procedures, where democracy is practised, is an arena in which young people feel marginal in and marginalised from through the exclusion of their own interests and concerns. They are, nevertheless, interested and engaged in a wide range of social, cultural and environmental issues, often at the micro level of personal and community activities, a type of civic engagement, rather than engaged at the macro level of collective action and activism.

Meanwhile, the real possibilities for divergence between school and community tend to occur over the meaning of activism and the role education plays in supporting this. For the school, the relevance of activism for democratic life is acknowledged but not taught. For instance, school staff cited positively the involvement of pupils in various political demonstrations but tended to stay clear of any activity that might be construed as supporting their politicisation. There is some degree of divergence in the propensity for this type of activity in relation to community, which can also be a site for learning activism through encouraging and supporting community engagement. However this divergence should not be overstated because, whilst the rhetoric of social and political commitment is strong in the vocabulary of community educators, as distinct from the teachers, the practice is more limited. Nevertheless, this type of citizenship activism also interests some young people although it may take the form of participation as 'everyday makers' rather than engaging with broader struggles and movements for enhancing democracy and social change.

The radical agenda, where the politics of democracy and educational engagement can be developed, is in the capacity to scale up the levels of participation and awareness so that activism of the 'everyday maker' type is not simply constrained to local issues and concerns or merely seen as a space for simply putting pressure on the formal system of representative politics. From this perspective, addressing the tensions between learning for

citizenship and learning for democracy is largely an unrealised possibility for both school and community practitioners. The task would be to enable young people to be critically competent citizens who are able to engage with formal structures of social, cultural, economic and political power and to make relevant and concise connections between the personal and the political and vice versa.

The section below draws on the four aspects of citizenship education, i.e. *learning for membership*, *learning for entrepreneurial citizenship*, *learning for formal political participation* and *learning for activism* and discusses the converging and diverging views and experiences of learning and education for citizenship, participation and community.

## **Learning for membership**

Learning for membership was a dominant concern in both the formal and informal settings of school and community. However, the focus and concerns of school staff and community educators did differ to a certain extent. In the school, the focus was on multiculturalism, belonging, volunteering and being a good neighbour and this in part reflected the greater cultural and ethnic diversity of the urban site than was evident in the community setting. In the community, the focus was more on young people 'making community', through an active engagement in local projects. The greater homogeneity of the community setting meant that the focus was more on participating actively in groups in the locality rather than needing to affirm a sense of belonging and connectedness.

As discussed in Chapter 5, in the school's catchment area about one in five students was from an ethnically diverse group [School data]. The school's innovative and effective approach to multicultural education had been recorded in many national policy and curricular documents in the past. By contrast, although steadily rising, the ethnic minority and migrant

population in the community studied was significantly smaller than the school [School & Community data]. Secondly, the multicultural emphasis perhaps showed a direct influence of the official agenda of the *Curriculum for Excellence*, 'developing global citizens', which stresses the importance of international education for "preparing children and young people for life and active participation in a global, multicultural society [and] developing a knowledge and understanding of the world and Scotland's place in it" as one of its three key principles (LTS, 2011, p.11). The school's provision of anti-racist education and its Kenyan Partnership Project could be seen as classic examples of this. Thirdly, the visibility of an ethnically diverse community raises the democratic issue of belonging and inclusiveness in a more overt manner than was evident in the community setting. Possibly the school's involvement in the life of an ethnically diverse community meant it had to address – and it did so willingly – the possibility of discrimination, prejudice and 'racism' as a result of its mixed catchment and the potential issues which might arise from this.

The emphasis on active participation in both formal and informal contexts was associated with various civic, social and caring activities as the exemplary behaviour of a good citizen, and the community served as a useful resource for this for both school and community educators. A range of activities and programmes were identified from sports clubs, informal activities such as helping neighbours, looking after younger children and the elderly, and formally organised programmes such as local community projects, environmental groups and charity volunteering works. Through this activity, the shared meaning of membership for formal and informal education was close to Robert Putnam's version of *social capital* in which participation is essentially aimed at building civic trust and connectedness amongst members and groups in society, in order to develop what Putnam refers to as bonding and bridging capital (Putnam, 2000).

Whilst the above meaning of citizenship as membership can be valuable, as critics argue, the connection between social capital and democracy is contentious (Fine, 1999; Fitzsimons, 2000; Biesta 2009). Social capital is an

ambivalent concept which might support civic engagement and community life, on the one hand, through neighbourly concern and associated activity, but on the other it can also be used as a substitute for the declining role of the state in welfare and public service provision, as volunteering may replace the arm of the state in providing social protection (Crowther & Martin, 2010). Both of these potential outcomes might begin to serve quite different democratic purposes. For example, community action and engagement can serve an essentially non-democratic goal of neoliberal economic reform to inculcate self-managing, self-reliant and civically-engaged individuals, rather than a democratic vision of political agents who are socially responsible and critically-engaged with structures and systems of the society.

This above distinction was acknowledged by both practitioners and young people in the school and the community through recognition of what can be termed a minimal version of a 'merely *activated* citizen' who simply conforms to assigned civic duties and obligations and a maximal version of '*active* citizens' who possess critical or dissenting voices to raise fundamental questions about accepted norms such as belonging, community, cooperation and social cohesion rather than simply accepting or assimilating them. In practice, however, the rhetoric of critical or dissenting citizenship was less evident in practice.

## **Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship**

In both school and community, another cause of convergence was as a result of the current economic climate of recession and welfare reform. These were acknowledged as key influences on the current policy context which was reshaping the focus of citizenship learning. Here, citizenship education and learning could be seen as part of an 'investment' in economic capital: in other words, to cultivate individuals who showed initiative and flexibility, were competitive and appeared to be 'job ready'. This in itself is not a bad thing in that positive transitions to work need to be fostered and educators in

formal and informal settings have an important role to play in this. In the school and the community setting the economic agenda was focussing practice, although it is probably true to say that this occurred to a greater extent in the school context. The danger of this convergence, and the policy agenda shift, is that it potentially reinforces a deficit discourse of young people. It can portray young people as being idle, irresponsible and ready to become dependent 'welfare scroungers' if given half a chance (see Cameron, 2013), a discourse which then creates a toxic vocabulary, which young people can internalise and practitioners might be influenced by, despite the collapse in work opportunities generally. The difficult balancing act is that of providing a curriculum of vocational and other work-related training programmes which genuinely gives young people reasonable chances in the labour market and at the same time helps them contextualise their position in order to avoid the negative labels and stigma which is associated with the discourse of employability policy.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that, whilst entrepreneurial skills and attitudes may indeed be helpful for young people's successful transition to independent, 'working' adulthood, many authors point out these attributes have little or no connection with democracy (e.g. Giroux, 2005; Clarke, 2007; Hall & O'Shea, 2013). The kinds of knowledge and skills required, individually and collectively, to engage in democratic life are not the same as those required to engage in the labour market. Instead, critics highlight an emerging paradigm of 'market citizenship' or 'market democracy' where a neoliberal ethics of choice, self-management and personal responsibility gradually dominates, to become the 'common-sense' understanding and practice of citizenship i.e. *responsibilised citizenship*.

Resonating with this argument, Ross Deuchar (2007) distinguishes between a *narrow* focus of economic (or enterprise in his terminology) citizenship learning which primarily involves a depoliticised version of 'business entrepreneurship', i.e. "individual ambition, preparation for work and wealth creation" through isolated, prescribed activities, and a *broad* one of 'social entrepreneurship' which emphasises "the need for social and moral

responsibility and for preparing young people with the knowledge required to play a role in the community" (p.10). Importantly, for Deuchar, the problem does not derive from economic citizenship learning itself but from its problematic detachment from democracy and political agency in policy and practice.

Deuchar's argument was shared by the community educators who were highly sceptical about policies which promote the growth of narrow economic citizenship programmes, whilst, at the same time, opportunities and resources for learning for democracy were either shut down or cut back as part of public service reform. By comparison, practitioners in school tended to be less critical and at times, more supportive of economic citizenship learning, often linking it to their professional responsibility to deliver the formal curricular agenda of human capital, with students equipped with adequate "skills for learning, life and work" to partake in a continuous, healthy economic growth (The Scottish Government, 2009a). In line with this, school practitioners' narratives were sympathetic to young people as vulnerable or 'in trouble' amid rapidly changing social conditions of recession, austerity and the collapse of the job market.

In the current context, it was perhaps not surprising that young people in both the school and the community had a heightened sense of the 'risks' they faced. One type of response took an instrumental view, that engagement in community activities could improve their curriculum vitae as a step in the direction of employability or entry into higher education. Unintentionally, perhaps, young people were having to be calculative about their future possibilities in an inhospitable and competitive environment and were therefore becoming strategically involved in civic duties (e.g. volunteering with an agency that could provide a reference). Whilst the importance of preparation for work should not be devalued, this goal of skilling people for jobs essentially stems from the construction of an individualised and depoliticised interest of a personally responsible citizen and his or her economic capital. To reinforce the point made earlier – these trends have little connection to democracy. From this perspective, there are tensions

between the growing dominance of the 'private' neoliberal citizen, in both policy and practice, in contrast to the challenge of educating for democratic citizenship which acknowledges difference and seeks to reconcile a plurality of competing views.

Meanwhile, young people in both the school and the community actually wanted, not surprisingly, the "respectable" economic status of paid employment. Work is potentially important, materially as well as for status advancement, for young people and the interruption of this transitional point in their lives is worrying for them and for educators. Of course in-work poverty may be the reality, in that the myth of work as a route to economic independence may not be justified in a context of low-pay, and even lower pay for young people, being permitted. For young people to earn their own money would – or so it might seem - give them purchasing power and begin to move them away from dependency on adults for the things they want. Narratives of these economic concerns were particularly strong amongst young people in the school and were expressed through anxious voices about their future prospects or the lack of them. Anxiety and the fear of failure can lead young people to a heightened sense of the need to compete more strategically, on the one hand, or, on the other, to withdraw in the expectation that further failure is likely and that there is little that they can do about their circumstances. In either case citizenship as a claim to active agency for democratic life is the loser.

## **Learning for formal political participation**

Another area of convergence of school and community was the emphasis on formal political participation in both contexts – the focus being participation at national and UK levels in particular rather than a wider, supra-state level, such as the European Community. This latter point should not, perhaps, be over-emphasised because the data collected is merely a 'snapshot' at one point in time. However, the emphasis on formal political participation is

clearly an ongoing one and this may not be surprising because formal politics is important and an understanding of political structures and procedures of engagement cannot be ignored. At the time of this data collection, the Scottish referendum was some time ahead and this would change – at least for the referendum – the rights of young people to participate in formal politics because of the extension of eligibility to vote to 16 and 17 year olds. It might have been expected, nevertheless, that learning democracy, through formal political participation at the local level of the community, would have been more of a concern for community education, which it was, but only to a certain extent. This learning of citizenship in the community should not be considered as second-rate political education with a parochial outlook, but more about ‘starting where people are’ in order to build democratic life from the ground up. Both school and community activities were, however, primarily concerned with youth engagement with existing democratic processes and structures at both national Scottish and UK levels.

According to McCulloch there are five factors driving and reshaping this aspect of citizenship, including:

- a long-standing Scottish tradition of education as a broad initiation into citizen-making;
- democratic civic renewal in the aftermath of devolution;
- perceived political apathy and disengagement of young people;
- young people’s right to have a say as in the UNCRC; and
- youth participation as a “user-involvement” strategy within public services (see McCulloch, 2007)

For practitioners, in the school and the community, there was a tendency to account for the lack of interest in formal political participation through a discourse of ‘apathetic’ or ‘uninformed’ youth, about which something needs to be done to encourage them to take an interest in formal politics and to express this by voting. The need of young people to exercise their political rights, when they reach the age of being enfranchised, was a strong theme in both formal and informal settings. The power of this discourse is that it can



rule out other ways of thinking about the context of power, inequality, how these circumstances have come about and how they might be changed by taking social and political action. The bias towards engaging with politics, through learning about the system of political representation, focuses on young people's ineligibility to engage with the institutions and processes. This has consequences for young people's motivation. Whilst many young people do present themselves as bored and uninterested in politics, this is not simply to do with their age. After all there are many adults who do not vote either and appear to be uninterested in politics. The explanation might lie somewhere else, such as in the practice and institutions of politics. If the problem was redefined by looking at these, and away from the alleged innate disinterest of young people, there might be more awareness about the real issues which would help educators focus more effectively on a critical engagement with these political institutions and processes. But this is not the case. The dominant discourse of youth boredom and alienation locates the problem in young people who will, eventually, take an interest in politics – or so it is hoped. To achieve this, educators emphasise political literacy and engagement with formal decision-making processes of representative democracy. Here, the primary role of practitioners is as providers of objective knowledge, who provide the knowledge and skills for understanding the role of civic institutions and enable young people to engage with political arguments (ideally) by exploring all available views and perspectives in a balanced way, to enable young people to make informed decisions.

Whilst both groups of practitioners agreed with the importance of the principle of educational neutrality, in reality however, they often seemed to encounter a dilemma of conflict between their professional identities and responsibilities as public sector employees, i.e. as teachers, school staff and council staff and as people interested in politics themselves. The dilemma of undertaking political education, in a context where employees have to be neutral according to their conditions of employment, but where they also believe that education is not neutral, is the crux of the problem. This was perhaps felt more acutely by the community educators who expressed a

Freirean notion of critical pedagogy, wherein learning is fundamentally connected to the broader struggle for structural transformation of society.

Another key concern of this approach is the (over-) emphasis on political literacy, in terms of understanding the policies of existing political parties, as a means of engaging young people. Indeed young people often experience alienation from existing political parties. It is not to argue that political literacy is not important for citizenship learning and education but that there is no direct link between political literacy and political participation. Too much of this kind of learning may turn young people off rather than motivate them. For instance, Rooney (2007) points out that citizenship education is a quick policy fix that seeks to transfer responsibility for social and political ills, such as low voting turnout and lack of social cohesion, from (formal) politics itself to young people's lack of political literacy. From this perspective, he refers to citizenship education as "a programme of behaviour modification" that transfers responsibility from politics to education. By neglecting the *real* problems that exist within the present democratic options and procedures, the current citizenship education approach is likely to hollow out democracy rather than re-vitalise it. Similarly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) point out a fallacy of "participatory citizens" who merely conform to and reproduce the *status quo*, rather than critically reassess and transform it as 'justice-oriented citizens' might do.

Many authors highlight that what is really required is a politically-educated citizenry, capable of understanding the importance of the fundamental democratic principles of creating a voice for young people, as well as knowledge of how democratic institutions and systems work, along with the capacity for critical evaluation of conflicting political ideologies between different political parties, their policy problems and proposed solutions. It will be this level of understanding that will create the ability to make informed decisions in voting and other political activities (Frazer, 1999; Crick, 2010; Biesta, 2011c). Importantly, as Shaw and Crowther (2013) argue, safeguarding a healthy development of democracy entails not only participation in the system but also 'strategic non-participation', to be

considered when the procedures simply do not work, rather than to incorporate and muffle the dissent of those whose life, experiences and aspirations are largely excluded from policy understanding. Unless the assumption is made that the political processes and institutions can create genuine opportunities for a political voice, participation and the representation of different interests - which can seem to be naïve in the context of unequal resources of power - then the response to engaging with these should surely be one of critical scepticism.

In fact, young people seemed to sense this intuitively rather than explain it conceptually; that is, they recognised the limitations on them in terms of making a difference through formal political participation. Cynicism might be the result, however, and this can be interpreted as apathy and disinterest. Nevertheless, cynicism might be understood as a type of critical realism; in this sense, apathy from formal politics is the product of alienation from a politics which produces disengagement even whilst it seeks to legitimate itself through appearing to be open to change and to welcome the political involvement of young people.

Unlike the rhetoric of youth deficit, which is dominant in policies and to some extent was evident amongst practitioners in the school and the community, young people were more likely to identify themselves as 'engaged citizens' who feel marginal or marginalised from formal political processes because of their exclusive nature such as elitism, adultism, left/right wing political partisanship, traditional mass organisations (e.g. political parties, trade unions). These invited spaces for participation were often related to young people's negative attitudes towards formal politics and political processes as they failed to represent young people's own values, issues and agendas.

Decorative and tokenistic forms of participation, or what Roger Hart (1992) defines as terrains of 'non-participation' were at the core of this problem, as they tended to create further alienation of young people from formal politics and political engagement. This rhetoric was particularly strong amongst

young people in the community setting. Through involvement in community-based projects and activities, they were more likely to encounter unfair perceptions of youth and youth participation. These experiences were often linked to a growing voice of disenchantment amongst young people in the community with the existing structures and procedures of youth participation in politics and in society.

## **Learning for activism**

Learning for activism was fundamentally differentiated from the other three types of citizenship which focused on youth deficit discourses, where citizenship education was seen as a precautionary measure for (supposedly) youth-centred social and political problems. Instead, learning for activism tended to adopt a more proactive and progressive rhetoric which emphasised young people's political agency and citizenship learning as a seed of a broader collective movement for progressive social change. In this regard, participation through 'learning by doing' was a crucial resource through which young people could exercise their rights as equal citizens, hence citizenship as 'lived experience', within and outwith formal education for citizenship.

Both groups, of school and community practitioners, acknowledged that this dimension of citizenship was important because of: (a) a curricular agenda of local activism which "puts into practice global learning and teaching in relevant, engaging, challenging and fun ways to promote the deeper learning that is so important" for developing global citizens within *Curriculum for Excellence* (LTS, 2011, p.4) which was particularly strong amongst those in the school, and (b) youth participation as a legal and policy imperative of youth empowerment to include young people in all decision-making processes affecting their lives (The Scottish Government, 2008), as promulgated by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

Whilst also observed amongst practitioners in the school, the rhetoric of active participation was emphasised more by practitioners in the community who highlighted the UNCRC's article 12, young people's right to have a say, as a fundamental rationale for their practice of citizenship programmes: in other words, to substantiate young people's citizenship, through which they fulfil their rights and responsibilities as equal citizens. From this perspective, practitioners in the community recognised the building of an effective youth-adult partnership as being key to achieving a common goal of creating a more democratic society. By comparison, albeit able to make a connection to general principles of human rights, especially those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (The United Nations, 1948), practitioners in the school did not emphasise youth rights or the UNCRC.

Young people in the community who had a concrete understanding of their rights tended to be more confident, specific and articulate about issues that mattered to their lives and why; they were also more skilled in ways to make their voices heard. For instance, during one meeting, members of the Youth Congress who were concerned about the impact of benefit caps on youth welfare, especially for those in poverty, discussed different ways they might draw politicians' and policy-makers' attention to this issue such as by organising a meeting with local MPs, bringing the agenda to the Scottish Youth Parliament or becoming part of a policy consultation group which they would seek to influence. In comparison, although they shared similar issues of concern, the narratives of young people in the school showed little sense or acknowledgement of their right to participation and how to make their voices heard. They seemed more unsure about what they could do, or what options were available for them, to influence change. The result was that they were therefore less likely to participate in processes of decision-making aimed at social change.

The real differences between school and community occurred over the contrasting ways in which community was understood and adopted for learning citizenship. In the school, community was essentially an extension of citizenship education into a real life context, in which students could

practise being 'good' citizens, and through which young people could then develop social, political and increasingly human capital by being socialised into the pre-given values, morals and ethics of citizenship.

For community educators involved in citizenship learning *through* community engagement and community affairs, it was also an arena for acquiring activist knowledge and experience: that is, the opportunity to learn the skills, commitment and engagement for working towards broader social change. In this respect, community educators tended to emphasise the young people's own direct issues and concerns, which was seen as crucial for encouraging youth grassroots activism. The agenda for informal education and learning experiences might therefore arise from this, as young people begin to control and shape the purpose, level and process of their participation. However this requires further qualification. What this actually translated into in practice, was working through the invited spaces of civic activism such as the Youth Congress. But this had its problems. As in the school, young people were expected to channel their interests through structures in which they possessed little power or control over how things were done and ultimately had little control over the outcomes of participation. Issues of adultism and other tokenistic experiences such as a local MP failing to show up at a meeting, the predominance of relatively low level issues (e.g. lunch menus and uniform regulations in school), can be ways of minimising engagement with more significant issues e.g. poverty, youth welfare benefits, sexuality / LGBT, disabilities and so on.

Another example of the limitations of the invited spaces for activism was the pupil council. In both the school and community samples, the pupil council was a direct response to the curricular policy imperative of young people's right to have a say in the school's democratic management (Children in Scotland & University of Edinburgh, 2010a; b). However it had been discontinued in the school and young people in the community sample had little recollection of any specific activity their own pupil council at school had undertaken or, in most cases, who their actual representatives were.

Negative experiences based on the invited spaces of participation can lead to apathy, disinterest, disillusionment, scepticism and end up demoralising young people as well as practitioners of citizenship learning. The neoliberal-driven, increasingly dominant discourse of economic growth and welfare reform is a key factor in this trend. The focus on accountability and effectiveness in meeting 'policy targets' tended to result in the practitioners of citizenship learning, both in the school and the community, being preoccupied with resourcing problems or having to make funding applications. The outcome was, thus, having limited time and energy for more meaningful work i.e. building a relationship with young people and/or providing support for their actions or activities for social change. As a result, neither the school nor the community offered young people sufficient opportunities for the development and exercise of becoming active on their own terms and in the structures that would work for them.

Another noteworthy aspect of learning through activism was a shared focus on 'the personal is political' and 'the political is personal' amongst both practitioners and young people in the school and the community. Resonating with wider debates of 'life politics' (Giddens, 1991), these narratives underlined micro-activism which essentially reconceptualises intimate, private issues as political concerns and everyday engagement as a fundamental means to political participation. This was in line with the findings of a large volume of literature such as Norris (2003; 2007), Furlong and Cartmel (2007), Banaji (2008), Harris, Wyn and Youness (2010) which note the emergence of the 'new politics' of single issues and informal, grassroots activities as an alternative domain which offers real 'choices' for young people to express their concerns. A key driver of the new politics is the relative absence of structures or membership regulations, so that it provides more open and friendly spaces for young people who want to play an active role in bringing about social change.

This type of activism was motivating and less frustrating for young people. The range of issues that they were involved in were eclectic and operated at different levels, including:

- *below the state* through daily personal, family, school and local community issues (e.g. looking after younger children, helping the elderly and people with disabilities in the neighbourhood, complaining about the school's unsatisfactory curriculum provision in some subject areas such as Modern Studies, protesting against construction of a new road)
- *state level* through national issues such as the economic crisis, welfare reform, educational policies, the referendum for Scottish independence, social inclusion and youth issues (e.g. the right to vote, anti-social behaviour and juvenile crime)
- *beyond the state* through global issues of sustainable development, ecological concerns, fair trade, human rights and Scotland's international relations with other countries in and outside of the EU.

Conscious efforts were made, by young people and practitioners, in both the school and the community to build a meaningful connection between the small issues of their everyday lives and getting involved in wider action and activities. There were questions in regard to the extent to which the maxim of 'act local and think global' was realised in practice as there was often a plateau between micro-level *small* efforts in everyday life, such as recycling, growing garden vegetables, saving energy, cleaning up neighbourhood areas, and the macro-level of collective action towards *big* changes in society as a whole. It is not to underestimate or devalue the impact of these small endeavours at a private and local community level; yet, these types of activity seemed to put too much focus on responsibility and resources back to each individual or community for voluntary actions at the micro level without making the necessary demands for changes at the macro level. Engagement in civic activity does not necessarily become active participation in social and political issues. This was evident in the narratives of involvement in some of the popular activities of citizenship learning in the school and the community, such as the Kenyan project and the Youth Congress, which were more for personal development or self-actualisation (e.g. self-awareness, self-fulfilment, life-style, employability, enjoyment) rather than for collective struggle or action for social transformation. Here, the required nature of participation was usually temporary and sparse in both time and space, thus rarely linking to shared experiences or building



networks for common goals that are key for effective social change (Wilson-Grau & Nunez, 2007; DFID-CSO Youth Working Group, 2010).

Learning through activism, that is, developing new ways of reclaiming citizenship learning as a collective space for social learning where young people on the one hand, politicise micro-level issues of their own and on the other, individualise macro-level issues of the society, remained a neglected but potentially fertile space for building reflective spaces for learning citizenship and practising democracy. The fact that it can build on young people's motivation is a significant resource but one that was only partially realised.

## **Discussion**

Focusing on four different types of citizenship education, this chapter examined converging and diverging views and experiences of citizenship education amongst practitioners and young people in the school and the community.

Despite the emphasis on the mutual goal of 'democratic citizenship' the reality was often a 'messy' one of contesting ideologies of democracy which emphasised:

- voting in a representative political system through affiliation to a political party's manifesto
- civic nationalism (i.e. emphasis on multicultural ethics and virtues) and engagement in civic activities in the community
- social democracy (i.e. concerns about issues of equalities, social justice and welfare);
- the traditional liberal or humanist approach in Scottish education (i.e. aims of personal development and self-actualisation rather than collective change);
- community education's radical rhetoric (i.e. focus on development of critical human agency)

- the newly-emerging market, neoliberal version of citizenship/ democracy (i.e. stress on self-managing individuals who contribute to wealth creation through paid employment).

The impact of a neoliberal citizenship was particularly noteworthy as its effect is not only on promoting an overtly economistic model of learning for entrepreneurial citizenship, but also impacts on membership, formal participation and activism whereby an individualised and depoliticised conception of citizenship concerns and ideals seems to be hollowing out essentially collective and communal domains of citizenship and democracy. In this messy reality the dominant theme which can be drawn out is one of promoting a responsibilised citizen, that is, the individual who is willing to participate in formal politics by voting, to care for their neighbours when required, to be active in the community willingly and freely, thereby enhancing civic life and social capital and to make an economic contribution to society through ensuring their capacity to work. This is captured in the model below.

**Figure 8.1: Converging experience of citizenship learning in school and community**



This model is not simply a reference to the school version of citizenship or the model expressed through community education: it captures the convergence of both sites for teaching and learning which, to one degree or another, focus on a responsibilised model of citizenship. Whilst this aim might be problematic for both contexts, it seems to have greater significance for the informal site of learning about citizenship in community education. One of the claims made for the distinctive nature of community education is its freedom from formal educational structures and concerns. This is being diminished - rapidly it would seem - in the context of austerity. The capacity of community educators to work in developing informal educational experiences is a casualty of a tightening of the policy framework which asserts a formal educational purpose and practice. A creeping colonisation process is evident in the arena of citizenship education across both school and community contexts. The findings which inform this chapter, and the thesis, show that the informal spaces for education typically associated with community have, instead, lost some of their quality and have become a crucial resource for learning for a distinctive model of the responsibilised citizen, rather than learning for a version of democracy concerned with critical knowledge and the capacity to act to find a voice, in order to shape and influence decisions which affect young people.

For many young people, citizenship, participation, education and learning were increasingly depicted in a language of 'choice', as a fundamental right of a free individual in a democratic society, and in this sense, non-participation, regardless of its roots in scepticism or apathy, seemed to be rapidly becoming seen as one of the ingrained cultural characteristics of contemporary 'disengaged youth'. Yet, in reality, young people were increasingly pressured or pushed into *responsibilised citizenship* which puts the emphasis on an individual's responsibilities over his or her own economic, social, cultural and political wellbeing, as a corresponding notion to (supposedly) increased rights to freedom and choices in the market, society and democracy. From this perspective, young people who are living through the current climate of economic crisis and welfare cuts, with reduced opportunities to enter the labour market and establish economic

independence than previous generations, often seemed to encounter the option of being a 'deserving' citizen status or an 'undeserving' citizen.

This argument resonates with Sointu's critique of changing discourses of wellbeing in the UK during past decades from public concerns of the 'welfare state', which focuses on a Marshallian concept of social rights, i.e. the state's full responsibility to guarantee the minimum living standard of all members of the society, to a neoliberal version of 'individual wellbeing' which fundamentally shifts the state's responsibility to individuals for their self-care and self-fulfilment (Sointu, 2005). This unavoidably brings about essential changes in ways a citizen relates to the state, i.e. citizenship, and this chapter demonstrates the extent to which a neoliberal rhetoric of market citizenship and democracy may impose challenges and dilemmas for each dimension of citizenship education in terms of its potential contribution to democratic citizenship.

Nevertheless, 'hope springs eternal' as the saying goes and what young people often possess is an enthusiasm and energy that has not yet been diminished, even in circumstances which are difficult and unpromising for progressive change. There are 'engaged young people' who are interested in and actively involved in a wide range of social, cultural and environmental issues. This suggests a type of broad political engagement which is hopeful and which can be the motivation for furthering interest in political life. On its own, this kind of motivation is not enough for enhancing democracy, although it is necessary for it. From this viewpoint, a new kind of threat to democracy might appear which does not come from apathy or disinterest, but from selective involvement in certain, easily accessible and convenient, micro-levels of activism associated with increasingly individualised forms of everyday activities. There is a contradiction here which is also more positive. This motivation and engagement can be a basis for educational work to scale up an understanding of the context in which these things are situated and it can be a resource for challenging macro-level interests to become a basis for broader social action, which is essential for progressive changes towards building a more democratic society.

## Conclusion

The centrifugal thrust of citizenship policy as discussed in chapter four has harnessed the practice of community education to bring it into alignment with policy for citizenship education in schools, which focuses on a responsibilised vision of the good citizen. One of the underlying difficulties this generates for democratic life is that the model of the good citizen being promoted has very little to do with democracy. The idea of the dissenting citizen is notable by its absence. Moreover, the focus on participation in the formal political process tends to shift the blame onto young people as the problem rather than on the nature of politics as the key issue. In the community there are still opportunities for young people to identify issues that enthuse them, but these are often channelled into invited structures over which they have little control. In this context, the appeal of a more spontaneous, 'free' politics, of engaging in life politics or in activities in the community, can be readily appreciated and can provide meaningful experiences and outlets for young people's natural energy and idealism. But this type of activity is not the same as activism which addresses the wider structures of power that might limit and warp democratic life. The increasing emphasis on citizenship as an entrepreneurial activity simply reaffirms an economic dimension of being responsible and underlines the hollowing out of democracy in the purpose and practice of teaching and learning for citizenship in both school and community contexts.

## **Chapter 9**

# **Conclusion**

### **Introduction**

The primary aim of this research was to examine the different kinds of citizenship taught and learned in formal and informal settings of citizenship education and then to relate these findings to the wider debate about the relationship between citizenship and democracy in Scotland. The first part of this concluding chapter summarises the findings of this study and is structured in relation to the research questions and the aims of the study. The second part considers the implications of the findings for theory, practice, policy-making and future research in the field.

## Summarising the findings

One of the most important findings of this research is the value of listening to the voices of young people who are the experts of their own experiences of citizenship learning and engagement in school and in the community. The type of qualitative material generated in this account is often missing from literature on young people's experiences of citizenship. The analysis of the data demonstrates that youth citizenship is both a *contextualised* and *contested* concept that is embodied within the lived experience of young people, both in school and in the community. The section below revisits the key findings of the study by summarising the responses to the research questions.

### ***What are the views and perspectives of practitioners and young people about formal, school-based citizenship education?***

Along with the increased emphasis on professional autonomy and freedom for schools to tailor the curriculum (The Scottish Government, 2008), the findings suggest that experiences of citizenship learning and education in the school setting were consistent with the main policy aims of Education for Global Citizenship (EGC), which include:

- “Learning *about* a globalised world”, especially about the rights and responsibilities of a citizen who is a member of a multicultural society;
- “Learning *for* life and work” in order to effectively contribute to the globalised national economy;
- “Learning *through* global contexts” in order to develop globally aware and locally active citizens. (LTS, 2011, p.10, my emphasis)

Evidence of how the school in this study was achieving these aims was captured through different aspects of the framework that was developed for the analysis. Central to learning for membership was a shared rhetoric of diversity and multiculturalism amongst both practitioners and young people, particularly in the school but also in the community. For example, the diverse ethnic mix of the school's catchment area and students was a

resource for understanding the community, as members of a global, multicultural world, which required developing an understanding and awareness of the views and values of different groups of people, in Scotland and elsewhere. Learning about rights and responsibilities of multicultural membership was seen as crucial, not only to instil a sense of belonging in each young person but also to deepen social trust and relationships in the community as a whole. This might result in enhancing social capital within the community and between the community and the school but the main aim was to tackle issues of cultural politics, such as discrimination and prejudice against minority groups, and enhance social inclusion and community cohesion across social differences.

The rhetoric and practice of learning for entrepreneurial citizenship was very strong in the school setting, amongst both practitioners and young people, particularly in relation to the perceived risks in school to work transitions. When emphasising the economic recession and the retrenchment of welfare provision and public services, young people were viewed as having increasing responsibilities for personal wellbeing and the wealth creation of the nation as a whole. From this perspective, the key to citizenship learning and education was to provide young people with opportunities for developing economic skills and entrepreneurial attributes, such as self-management, leadership, creativity and resilience. The focus on responsibilisation of young people has, however, implications for how we think about democracy and this issue will be returned to later in this chapter.

The school's concern with entrepreneurial citizenship was congruous with the aims and objectives of the official policy initiative of 'enterprise in education' which emphasises a new pedagogy that "blends personal learning benefits with more general gains for employability, entrepreneurship and the economy... [and helps to] address the priority issues facing Scottish education and their relationships with economic and social change" of the twenty-first century. (HM Inspectorate of Education, 2008, p.2)



The primary and more traditional concern of teaching citizenship for formal political participation was based on a broad assumption of political apathy and disinterest, ingrained in young people's culture. The detailed accounts of this approach were similar to education for citizenship within the EGC (LTS, 2011, p.11). The school practitioners emphasised that young people were members (in waiting) of the political community and they would acquire, in due course, fundamental rights and responsibilities to participate in public life. Therefore, the central aim of citizenship learning and education, for practitioners, was to equip and prepare young people with the knowledge and skills needed for their engagement with formal politics and formal political participation, especially in terms of voting which was viewed as the pinnacle of democratic participation. In contrast, the narratives of young people suggested mixed views on this aspect of democratic life.

On the one hand, they remained largely affirmative of the principles of Scottish liberal democracy, and recognised the importance of learning political literacy in order to widen their views and perspectives on various social and political issues to assist them in making informed choices when needed. On the other hand, attitudes about young people's political participation were mixed, especially around their right to vote. While many believed that it should be a basic right for young people, others expressed concerns about young people's immaturity or lack of capacity to make autonomous decisions for themselves. Despite its importance, creating learning for active citizenship with authentic educational experiences of learning *for* democracy seemed difficult to achieve in the school setting because of the existing power dynamics in spaces of youth participation in and outside of the school. Many students seemed accustomed to indifference or tokenistic responses from adults. As one practitioner pointed out, the school's pupil council was a classic example of this and the school's failure to encourage democratic participation in the school implied a sense of indifference to young people's actual capacity to make informed decisions.

These negative experiences with existing youth participation structures and activities reinforced a sense of disengagement from politics in that they

highlighted that young people's participation would not really count, was not needed and therefore would not make any difference. From this perspective, creating meaningful opportunities for youth participation, and effective spaces for empowerment and democratic claim-making, seem to be crucial, even if these spaces have serious limitations.

The problem of teaching for formal political participation was compounded by the fact that many young people also held negative attitudes towards formal politics and traditional political organisations for their failure to represent and respond to the issues and interests of young people. In this sense, there seemed to be a gap between 'what (school's) citizenship education offers', which is shaped by an invitation to the spaces of formal political participation at some future point and 'what young people want' which is more open because it comes about through the demanded spaces of new political participation: that is, created for *and* by young people.

The school did little or nothing in terms of teaching for activism although it did provide opportunities for active citizenship in the community. Both practitioners and young people made a clear distinction between a minimal sense of 'being' a citizen, who is equipped with the basic knowledge and skills of rights and responsibilities but does not partake in society, and a maximal sense of 'acting as' a citizen. That is the person who makes use of his or her knowledge and skills and becomes an essential part of the social organism for building a good society. This approach involved an extensive scope of participation amongst young people in the community, involving issues at both below and beyond the state-level. The latter included awareness of planetary concerns such as climate change, sustainable development and global poverty and there was an emphasis on understanding the impacts of local and global actions. To put it simply, being an active citizen in this sense was in line with the idea of 'everyday making', of doing 'small' things in private and community life, such as walking or cycling to school and purchasing fair-trade goods, in anticipation of bringing about 'big' changes in the world.

Whilst not undermining the impacts of these activities of small 'p' politics, there was a considerable gap between 'active citizenship' as depicted particularly in the school setting and *real* activism as in a sense of collective social action and political movements that challenge the *status quo*. The difference between these two approaches involves different constructions of democracy. Being an active citizen within the existing framework of rights and responsibilities is important, however, democracy as an unfinished project can involve demanding new rights which necessarily means challenging the existing rules of democratic life. This type of active citizenship involves pushing at the boundaries of what exists and therefore requires education for critical consciousness, and action about the nature of democracy, which were absent from the school's curriculum.

***What are the views and perspectives of practitioners and young people about informal, community-based citizenship education?***

Despite the claims that community education is a distinctive educational terrain, relatively free from formal educational structures and concerns, the experiences of citizenship education in the community indicated otherwise. In many respects, community has become a crucial resource for delivering the official curricular agendas of EGC and this reflects changes in policy in what is now called Community Learning and Development, which is increasingly acting as a delivery service for state policy at local and national level. The focus of community, as a space for a dynamic curriculum to emerge out of the relationships created by community educators working with people around their own concerns and interests, has been replaced by formal prescriptions of what young people need.

The concerns of community education practitioners, drawing on a radical rhetoric of critical pedagogy, in combination with young people's enthusiasm and interest in a wide range of issues, and their willingness to directly act on these still provided an opportunity for critical, social purpose

education which aimed at reconnecting community-based citizenship learning to authentic experience of learning *for* democracy. However this rhetoric was often muted by other areas of educational practice which were also part of the practitioners' understanding of the purposes of citizenship education. The central concern of learning for membership in the community setting was in terms of promoting social capital and community engagement. The main aim of this approach was to develop a sense of belonging and 'good' personal characteristics, such as caring and connectedness, amongst young people. Being a good citizen in this sense was largely about being a good neighbour who actively partakes in community activities and projects and contributes to repairing relationships and trust between members of the community that are weakened by processes of modernisation. Both practitioners and young people regarded community involvement as a key ingredient to transform citizenship from a 'thin' sense of legal status to a 'thicker' sense of active membership and belonging, nurtured by participation as social and political actors of the here and now society (Lister, 2007b; 2010).

Whilst there was a sense of resistance and scepticism amongst community educators, learning for entrepreneurial citizenship was strongly supported by young people in the community. For many of these young people, community engagement was an important means of gaining the personal skills, assets and experiences that are crucial for accessing better employment and educational opportunities in the future. Participation, in this sense, was narrowly conceived as 'accredited learning' and 'tangible outcomes' that could be presented in university and job application forms. Given the current economic and social conditions of high rates of youth employment, the competitive job market and credential inflation, young people's focus on learning for entrepreneurial citizenship was perhaps not entirely surprising. Nevertheless, community educators were very cautious about this tendency as it harnessed community-based educational practices to the government's economic initiatives rather than genuine projects of learning *for* democracy.

Two main concerns for community educators associated with education and learning for formal political participation were: (a) a recognition of young people's rights to have a say, i.e. article 12 of the UNCRC (UNICEF UK, 2009), as an ethos of youth participation in politics and democracy; and (b) a focus on political literacy in order to enable young people to make informed choices in formal decision-making processes. Both practitioners and young people underlined the need to shift the emphasis from raising awareness amongst young people about their rights to participation to a greater recognition and support of adults and society as a whole for the *already* existing voices and views of young people. Both groups also acknowledged that lowering the minimum voting age to sixteen in the 2014 referendum for Scottish independence was a progressive move towards a more pluralistic society which allows young people to act as equal partners to adult citizens. From this perspective, the fundamental aim of community-based citizenship learning was to provide an educational space where young people could learn and exercise their rights and responsibilities as *engaged citizens* of the political community. Unfortunately, however, achieving such an aim still seemed difficult in reality due to the existing power imbalance between adults and young people in relation to the invited spaces of formal political participation.

Both community educators and young people viewed learning for activism as a crucial element of citizenship education for democracy. For community educators, this approach was ultimately associated with the social purpose or critical tradition of community education. Their narratives were consistent with the founding statement of the Alexander Report which aimed to widen community-based educational opportunities, to enable social and political agency of traditionally marginalised groups of people in society and contribute to building a truly pluralist democracy. In contrast, young people's focus was more concentrated on making 'small' changes in everyday life at the micro level of community, rather than organising or engaging with collective social movements and action for 'big' changes at the macro level. Bridging this gap between young people as (mere) 'activated' community volunteers and authentic social and political actors of social

transformation was acknowledged as a crucial task for community educators. Yet, realising it in practice was considered to be difficult because of the increasing emphasis on policy initiatives of employability and entrepreneurial citizenship and the de-emphasis on education for democratic life.

***To what extent do formal and informal citizenship education involve complementary and/or contradictory practices?***

The analysis of data illustrates a growing convergence between formal and informal citizenship education in policy and in practice. Changes in recent policy-making, particularly in connection with Education for Global Citizenship (EGC) and putting Community Learning and Development (CLD) into the *Curriculum for Excellence* (CfE), are at the centre of this accelerating trend, introducing community-based agencies as key partners of schools in the delivery of formalised educational agendas of developing young people as “responsible global citizens” (LTS, 2011, p.5). Community engagement is both a means and an end of citizenship education by providing “real-life contexts” through which young people connect their learning to real-life issues and actions (ibid., p.13). Therefore, the nature of community is depicted in both the formal and informal settings of citizenship education in a non-problematic sense of ‘ideal’ and ‘aspiration’. The community is constructed as offering a set of social norms and citizen duties that young people should be socialised into in order to build a good society. The idea that the community might be the crucible for conflicting and contested values, identities and aspirations, which involve making political choices from a range of options, is missing from this picture. This is citizenship education without the dynamic of politics and the need for political choices.

On the one hand, the converging experiences of formal and informal citizenship education, encompassed in traditional citizenship discourses, promote a static version of democracy which involves the following:

- membership and social capital which attribute civic virtues (e.g. open-mindedness and mutual respect in the school setting as well as caring and connectedness in the community setting) and social participation through volunteering and service work in communities;
- formal political participation and political capital which emphasise political literacy and attitudes to engage with representative democracy and its decision-making procedures, especially voting.

Increasingly, however, it also entails an emerging discourse of neoliberal citizenship and economic capital that focuses on equipping young people with entrepreneurial skills, capabilities and attributes in order to make an effective contribution to “sustainable economic growth” and building a more prosperous and wealthier Scottish society (The Scottish Government, 2011b). Central to this approach is an emphasis on a sense of responsibility for each young person to get on and get into the competitive job market of the twenty-first century’s globalised knowledge-based economy.

What is common to the converging rhetoric of formal and informal citizenship education is a dominant deficit approach which undermines the idea of ‘lived citizenship’ of young people by regarding them as mere objects of policy-making, rather than active subjects of governing with a unique social, cultural and political identity of their own. The latter fundamentally differs from the former because it focuses on the roles that young people *already* serve, as engaged citizens, in all aspect of community and public life beyond formal political participation (Lister, 2007b; Percy-Smith, 2010). Key to this shift is a broadened understanding of the concepts of political and political participation that include the interests and issues of young citizens (Norris, 2003; Bang, 2005).

Whilst this research was conducted prior to the Scottish referendum on independence in September 2014, the results from the referendum are instructive in relation to young people and politics. The overall voting turnout for the referendum was 84.5% (3.6 million) of the total of eligible voters which is a new record for any election held in Scotland and the UK since the establishment of universal suffrage in 1918. This number included

more than 109,000 16 and 17-year-olds who were registered to vote for the first time. In contrast to prevailing notions of youth as being apathetic or disengaged, the study conducted prior to the vote indicated that young people *were* interested in politics as much as the adult population and only 7% never talked about the referendum with anyone (BBC News Online, 2014c). Nevertheless, young people were still less likely to align themselves with political parties than adults. This indicates the importance of making politics and political participation *relevant to* the lives of young people, as a means of motivating their political agency.

Therefore, the challenge of the current approach of citizenship education in both formal and informal settings is how to rebalance the rights and responsibilities of young people in order to create a genuinely inclusive and democratic society where young people have shared ownership with adults and feel empowered to make real changes in society, rather than feel marginal or marginalised as second-class, apprentice, citizens. Accounts from young people in both settings indicate a trend towards a neoliberal version of 'responsibilised citizenship' that might have a particularly detrimental impact on their lives as engaged citizens as it promotes an individualised and depoliticised understanding of citizenship, making it difficult for young people to publicly express their personal concerns, and build relationships to organise collective action to bring about social change.

Responsibilisation of citizenship has crucial implications for the wider debate on education for citizenship in the post-welfare era. As discussed in Chapter 2, the growing dominance of neoliberal ethics in education is ultimately linked to a new social contract of market democracy which transfers responsibility of welfare from state provision to the voluntary efforts of self-reliant and self-governing 'entrepreneurial' individuals. Here, the concept of citizenship is essentially realigned with cultural and economic terms of wealth creation, competitiveness, market choice and profitability at the expense of critical citizenship and collective struggle towards building a more equal, inclusive and socially just, democratic society.



However there are contradictions between formal and informal citizenship education over diverging views on activism and the role education has in supporting this and these present spaces for democratic practice. In the formal, school setting, activism was recognised as an important element of democratic life, but not taught. Instead, what was taught was more associated with an idea of 'active citizenship' which, in essence, was about doing good deeds (e.g. helping neighbours and service work in the community) to maintain or enhance social cohesion and solidarity. This differs from the concept of 'dissident citizenship' which fundamentally questions the role of the existing systems and structures of society in reproducing enduring issues of inequality and social injustice, and calls for critical social action and movements towards building a more equal, inclusive and socially-just democratic society. This rhetoric was strongly supported by community educators who emphasised social purpose and grassroots youth activism as ultimate aims of their practice. However, as mentioned earlier, realising these aims seemed difficult under the current policy trends which have an overbearing focus on responsibility for meeting new policy targets that are preoccupied with 'employability' and 'wealth creation'.

***What are the implications of the findings above in connection with the wider debates on democracy in Scotland?***

The findings of this study demonstrate that the current framework of citizenship education, in formal and informal settings, entails a degree of convergence at policy level but that there are also spaces of divergence in practice because of the different experiences educators bring to the situation and also because of the contested nature and meaning of citizenship and democracy. Young people's engagement with the wider community also provides a resource for citizenship education which can extend democratic life. This complexity results in the 'messy' reality of educating for democratic citizens, in which various political ends and ideals intersect and confront each other including:

- civic nationalism and multiculturalism that emphasise rights and responsibilities of young people as members of a globalised, multicultural society;
- Scottish social democracy that is concerned with welfare, social rights, equality and social justice;
- liberal values associated with the humanist tradition of Scottish education, the aims of which are personal development and self-actualisation;
- the radical perspective of community education that focuses on critical consciousness and social purpose education; and
- the developing ideology of neoliberalism and market democracy that ascribes a new citizen identity as adaptive and self-managing entrepreneurial individuals.

To a large extent, teaching and learning for citizenship entailed a process of negotiation and compromise between these conflicting and contradicting values and beliefs about what is a 'good citizen' in twenty-first century Scottish society. Narratives of young people suggest that this process *is* influenced by various factors including family, peer group and formal political culture as well as schooling and community-based educational opportunities. Many young people regarded the latter two as fulfilling an important role in helping them gain essential knowledge, skills and attitudes to carry out their rights and duties as *active* and *responsible* citizens as well as widening their perspective on controversial social issues and, to some extent, in organising actions and activities to resolve these issues and build a better society.

The above is perhaps best captured conceptually in the construct of citizen identity of young people as 'everyday makers', who operate *outside* conventional domains of (formal) politics and political participation. Resonating with Bang's (2005) argument in Chapter 2, the young people's participation was often associated with a type of apolitical purpose of *neither* legitimating *nor* simply being oppositional to the existing power dynamics and forms of ideological domination. Instead, the focus was more on making 'small' changes by engaging with 'everyday' political repertoires at a 'personal' level rather than being part of Politics with a big P which arguably

failed to include and respond to the issues and concerns of young citizens. It is not to undermine the potential impact of everyday making (e.g. cycling to school) in bringing about big changes in society (e.g. reduction of the carbon footprint at national and global level). However, meaningful social change essentially involves collective struggles, which always begin with raising *real* questions about the nature of language, culture, power and resistance (e.g. what are the fundamental causes of environmental disasters?), and actualises in critical social action and movements to tackle the *real* issues (e.g. non-ecological development plans, corporate greed, overconsumption).

Reconnecting education to its social purpose requires thinking about the kinds of citizens needed to build a good, democratic society but should not be confined to this. Instead, it should extend its scope to scrutinise the kind of democratic society that we are trying to build by educating the young on democratic citizenship. This rhetoric of social purpose education was evident in the minds of community educators but by and large was absent in policy and practice in both formal and informal education settings. What is essential is that democracy is understood in dynamic terms as an unfinished project that can be kept under repair (through education for membership and formal political participation), or can be undermined (through responsibilisation), or can even be extended (through social and political action). How citizenship education is valued will reflect different versions of the kind of democracy society wants to create but there is little sense in which this goal of citizenship education is central to the curriculum of teaching and learning in formal and informal settings.

## **Implications and limitations of the study**

### ***The theoretical framework***

A further contribution of this study was to develop a comprehensive conceptual framework for thinking about different types of citizenship education which can operate at different levels of engagement. It proved to

be a very useful instrument for making distinctions between different practices and their connections, both positive and negative, with democratic life. The framework helped to capture some of the complexity of teaching and learning both in formal and informal settings and helped to understand where practices were converging and diverging. The overlaps and differences between the taught and learnt elements of citizenship were also clarified, as far as was possible, by using the framework to compare the practice of educators and the experiences of young people. One particularly important insight the framework helped clarify was the way in which different ideas of citizenship pose young people as the problem to be worked on whereas, seen from the perspective of young people, the world of politics and what they are being socialised into might offer a clearer definition of the problem. If educational policy was based on this premise what type of curriculum could it generate?

The theoretical framework also crystallised the types and levels of engagement which were being promoted, which is important for practising and developing democratic life. The politics of everyday makers, or life politics, has to re-make connections with the levels where power resides and decisions are made if democratic life is to be enhanced. The role of education in making these reconnections is important but often limited to existing structures and institutions of political power. By bringing together different types of teaching and learning on one axis, with different levels of engagement on the other, the framework offers a modest, but useful, way of studying education for citizenship and its outcomes for democracy.

### ***Limitations of the study***

In contrast to the rapid expansion of theoretical literature on education for citizenship in the recent years, a relatively small number of empirical studies exist (Lister *et al.*, 2013; Davies *et al.*, 2013). This is particularly true in the Scottish context. The focus of existing studies is at a policy-making level (e.g.

Biesta, 2011a; 2013) and a school level (e.g. Ross, Munn & Brown, 2007; Maitles, 2009), therefore we lack evidence-based research on how young people make sense of their citizenship experience in other aspects of their lives in the community.

There is a growing body of research on young people's citizenship learning in school *and* community amongst English youth (e.g. Lister *et al.*, 2005; Keating *et al.*, 2010; Whiteley *et al.*, 2012; Davies, *et al.*, 2013). Adopting a range of research methods such as policy analysis, questionnaires, observations, interviews and/or focus groups, these studies elucidate how young people actually make sense of citizenship learning and citizen participation which this account complements. My study is based on data collected at one point in time, through semi-structured interviews with selective individuals in two chosen settings and other methodological approaches were not included. Whilst offering valuable insights into views and perspectives of practitioners and young people in each setting, the data gathered via such strategies has its limitations in terms of providing insufficient evidence of first-hand, *live* accounts of what is taking place *in situ*. Robson (2014) carefully reminds us of discrepancies between what people say they do and what they actually do, and observation seems to be "pre-eminently the appropriate technique for getting at 'real life' in the real world" (p.316). Observation enables "researchers to understand the context of programmes, to be open-ended and inductive, to see things that might otherwise be unconsciously missed, to discover things that participants might not freely talk about in interview situations, to move beyond perception-based data (e.g. opinions in interviews) and to access personal knowledge" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011, p.635). From this viewpoint, observation can be a powerful research tool for citizenship studies as it creates opportunities for researchers access to data on sensitive, unspoken topics as well as "backstage culture" (DeMunck & Sobo, 1998, p.43). In doing so, it can enhance the reliability and validity of analysis of the data collected via semi-structured interviews.

Yet, observation is “neither easy nor a trouble-free option” (Robson, 2014, p.316), particularly for the lone researcher. It requires a substantial time commitment, “both day to day (writing up adequate field notes) and in terms of the ‘immersion’ [the researcher needs] to get anywhere” and it is difficult to budget for this time in advance (ibid., p.321). In addition, as Demunck and Sobo (1998, p.30) point out, there are major philosophical issues of “research bias” which refers to the theoretical preconceptions the researcher bring to bear on choice and use of methods and “reactivity”, that is, the effect the researcher has on participants and the context in which fieldwork is carried out: e.g. the “social desirability effect” (see page 169). Taking these points into account, semi-structured interview still seems to be a more appropriate data collection strategy for this study as for its overall suitability for resource availability *and* the purpose of the study. As illustrated in the earlier data analysis chapters, the material gathered via semi-structured interviews afforded rich descriptions of experiences and understandings of citizenship education amongst practitioners and young people at school and in the community. The value of data collection strategy has to be measured in terms of its capacity to stimulate discussion and debate on the purposes as well as practices of education for democracy rather than as a claim on the reliability and/or validity, arising from discrepancies between what informants say they have done or will do, and what they actually did or will do.

As discussed in Chapter 4, citizenship education is a broad aim of Scottish education and involves a whole school experience as well as an interdisciplinary approach. Yet, evidence from several recent studies demonstrates that experience of citizenship learning in secondary education is concentrated mainly on students who take Modern Studies. For instance, by comparing political literacy, trust, values and attitudes of students who take Modern Studies and those who attend classes in other social subjects such as History and Geography, Maitles (2009) found that while there was no discernible difference in terms of ‘positive’ moral political values and attitudes towards controversial issues (e.g. immigration, increased police powers, fair trade, nuclear power and equal rights); however, “Modern

Studies students have more knowledge, greater interest and are less cynical” about formal politics and political participation (p.46). This result is alarming in respect to the findings of Education Scotland (2013c) which shows that “[a]cross the country, over 20% of schools do not offer Modern Studies in S3/S4 [and] in some schools, there were issues around progression... finding it more difficult to offer Advanced Higher courses (p.12)”. In schools “where Modern Studies is not taught as a discrete subject... it is proving difficult for young people to acquire the appropriate knowledge or skills, for example in relation to democracy and political literacy” (p.15). More research on pupils’ citizenship learning across different subject areas needs to be undertaken in order to understand the reality of formal education for citizenship in Scotland and identify its impacts on young people as well as the challenges.

Collecting empirical evidence from these accounts is crucial in respect of a new space for discussions on youth participation in politics and democracy, particularly in the context of the recent referendum on Scottish independence. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, active involvement of young people in the overall voting process offers us insights into political participation of contemporary Scottish youth, and their activism, that reflect characteristics of the New Politics. However, current citizenship education in schools and community-based opportunities to a large extent tends to adopt a deficit-oriented approach, with a focus on formal political literacy and engagement with the formal processes of politics with a big ‘P’. Has the experience of young people’s participation in the referendum changed attitudes to formal politics? Future research is crucial in order to explore the changing relationship between the ‘invited’ spaces of citizenship learning offered in formal schooling, the colonised terrain of community and the ‘claimed’ spaces of youth political participation and social engagement.

## Recommendations

From the key themes to emerge from the findings of my study, I now present recommendations for policy-making and practice in education for citizenship.

### ***Educational policy-making***

As the literature review demonstrated, whilst the resurgence of interest in education for citizenship is a relatively recent phenomenon in official policy-making, education for citizenship is by no means a new idea but has a long tradition in both formal schooling and community education in Scotland. The preparation for young people for democratic citizenship has been persistently addressed through educational policy-making directed at the school curriculum and community education policies. What the findings of this thesis have illustrated is a gap between the proclaimed intentions of citizenship curriculum and policy, and practical outcomes relating to the participation of young people in civic and public life as equal and engaged citizens. The formal mechanisms of youth participation (i.e. invited spaces) in both school and community were often limited and problematic. Consequently, the underlying policy goal of learning for democracy often runs a risk of becoming 'an elephant in the room'. If citizenship education is going to have a 'democratic footprint', then it needs to ensure schools and communities are real sites for experiencing democratic life, which are work for young people and hence become valued by them. This requires a fundamental shift in policy-making from the dominant, top-down approach of "youth development" aiming to prepare young people as *becoming* citizens, to a more inclusive, bottom-up process of "youth involvement" aiming to enable young people to exercise their citizenship as *full* democratic citizens of the here and now (Collin, 2007).



## ***Educational practice***

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between formal and informal settings of citizenship education and extent to which overlapping and contradictory practices between the two settings influence young people's citizenship understanding and their participation in politics and the wider democratic society. As the review of literature demonstrated, partnership working between school and community education is crucial for ensuring young people's *lifelong* and *lifewide* experience of citizenship learning, yet this partnership is still new and has the potential to challenge traditional educational relationships. My research findings suggest that despite the growing convergence evident in policy rhetoric and in practice, the distinctive social purpose nature of community education can still offer a vital space of learning for democracy by:

- viewing knowledge and facilitation as problematic;
- questioning the ethical, social and political contexts in which facilitation and animation occurs;
- concentrating on developing critical and reflective capacities in young people;
- listens to young people's voices, shifting the traditional balance of power in the environment; and
- aims to create social change toward more just and inclusive practices (Coburn and Wallace, 2011, pp.13-5)

In practice, however, realisation of these points was, at best, tenuous in both school and the community as the focus of their educational practice tended to be more on other dominant discourses of citizenship such as learning for membership, entrepreneurial citizenship and formal political participation. In this regard, building a more meaningful and effective partnership between formal school and community education is prerequisite for reclaiming social purpose in education for citizenship. One way of doing so is to create spaces where practitioners from formal and informal settings share resources and develop and evaluate their strategies. Such events can happen in both physical and virtual spaces. The Internet is mainly used for disseminating and sharing pedagogical resources (e.g. [www.oxfam.org.uk](http://www.oxfam.org.uk),

[www.educationscotland.gov.uk](http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk), [www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk](http://www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk)) which is important. However, their focus is on the more technical issue of sharing information about *what* works rather than *how* and *why*. In order to engage with the latter, dialogue amongst professional educators across settings *and* between professionals and young people is critical. As discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to youth online activism, digital media and the Internet can be useful tools to make their views and voices heard in assessing and re-inventing education for citizenship as a genuine project of learning *for* democracy.

Another concern with the current approach to citizenship education in both formal and informal settings is that it relies on each young person's choice (e.g. Modern Studies, extracurricular activities and participation in community-based projects). Recent studies (e.g. Smith *et al.*, 2005; Tonge, Mycock & Jeffrey, 2012) find that experiences of citizenship learning and participation are significantly skewed by social class, educational attainment, gender and ethnicity. For example, volunteering is likely to be perceived as a feminine (caring) activity, deterring young males from seeking involvement (Roker, Player & Coleman, 1999). There is an urgent need to address practices of self-exclusion which narrow the appeal of citizenship education and who it is for.



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## Appendix 1. Interview questions for adult practitioners

### Opening

- How long have you been involved in your position?
- Why did you become a (teacher/ community educator)?
- Besides teaching, how else are you involved in citizenship activities (e.g. trade union, youth forums, voluntary works, etc.)?

### Through formal curriculum/policies

- What influences you most in terms of the material you teach? (policy, Education Scotland guidelines, personal experiences, teaching material availability, the level of students, etc.)
- What do you see as the main purpose of citizenship education?

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D
Core assumptions	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible and law-abiding members of the community	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must acquire entrepreneurial knowledge, skills and attributes and contributes to economic prosperity and wealth creation	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures	To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question, debate and change established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time.
Description	Acts responsibly in his/her community  Obeys Laws  Recycles or donates blood  Volunteers to led a hand in times of crisis	Works hard and pays taxes  Develop entrepreneurial skills and knowledge (e.g. leadership, creativity, resilience)  Takes risks  Participate in vocational and enterprise learning activities (e.g. apprenticeships; trainee schemes; accredited learning opportunities)	Active member of community organisations and/or community improvement works  Organises community projects to care for those in needs, to promote economic development and/or to clean up environment  Knows how government agencies work  Knows strategies for accomplishing collective tasks	Critically assesses social, political and economic structures to see beyond surface causes  Seeks out and addresses areas of injustice  Knows about democratic social movements and how to effect systematic change
Sample action	Contributes food to a food drive	Sets up a new business model for a food drive	Helps to organise a food drive	Explores why people are hungry and acts to solve root causes
Aim of (citizenship) education	Character education; multicultural education; learning by doing through volunteering and community-based activism	Education for work (vocational learning; enterprise education)	Political literacy (institutions, processes and procedures of representative democracy)	Collective social action and political engagement towards social transformation

- a. Which one is the closest model to your personal interest?
  - b. Which one is the closest model to your teaching?
  - c. (If above two answers are different,) where is the difference from?
  - d. Is there anything that you do in your teaching not shown/mentioned in this table?
  - e. Can you provide me any examples?
  - f. Who is a global citizen? / What is global citizenship?
  - g. Does global citizenship alter the type of citizenship education that you chose before? (Show the table again)
- How do you think citizenship education influence young people's identity as Scottish citizens?
  - Is the current issue of independence influencing citizenship education?
  - Are you aware of *Consultation on Rights of Children and Young People Bill*?
    - a. Have you been directly involved?
    - b. How does this affect your teaching of citizenship education?
    - c. Could you rank the following four basic principles of UNCRC? (1-4)?

The right to life, survival and development	The right to have young person's best interest in all actions	The right to non-discrimination	The right to be heard
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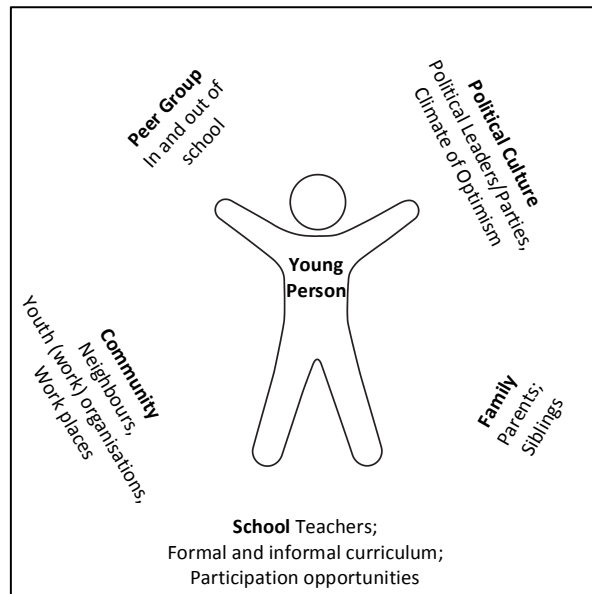
- How do you teach citizenship education
  - a. What approaches to you use?
  - b. What materials do you use?
  - c. Where do you get these materials?
  - d. What is the most/least effective way of teaching citizenship?
  - e. Any examples?
- How does Education Scotland or local council assist your teaching? (in terms of guidelines, web materials, training course, assessment, etc.)

### ***Outwith the Curriculum***

- Can you tell me about other activities or projects outside the classroom that you are involved with in relation to young people's citizenship learning?
- How do these projects enhance or complement citizenship learning of young people?

### ***Political Socialisation of Young People***

- Of which of the 5 factors most influential in political socialisation of Scottish young people today?



- How important is school? How can it accommodate its influence with others?
- Are there any factors missing in the diagram? What are they? Why are they important?

### ***Youth Activism***

- Can you tell me about young people's political participation at your work (e.g. pupil councils, the congress, etc.)?

### ***Closing***




- Any comments?
- Thank you.

## Appendix 2. Traffic Game



THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

### Traffic Game

Agree = Green 	Disagree = Red 	Not sure = Yellow 
1. People refusing to work should lose their rights as citizens.		
2. For a good cause, I would attend an unlawful march.		
3. People with different religious views should attend schools according to their faith.		
4. LGBTs should have the same right to marriage as other people.		
5. All people living in the UK should learn English.		
6. Immigrants are major cause of conflicts and hostility in Britain.		
7. When there are not many jobs available, foreigners' right to work should be restricted.		
8. Foreigners living in Britain should be able to vote.		
9. Democracy depends on harmony, not disagreement.		
10. The more power the government has, the more likely it is to resolve social problems.		
11. Honesty and morality of a politician are more important than his/her abilities.		
12. Happiness does not rely on democracy.		
13. Religious rules are more important than civil laws.		
14. School should teach more about political and social issues.		
15. School should prepare young people for work.		
16. Young people are not interested in politics.		
17. Young people are responsible for preserving Scotland's unique identity.		
18. Government is doing its best to include young people in its decision-making process.		
19. Young people should always take advice from older people when making important decisions.		
20. All people are equal in Scotland.		
21. I feel part of the community.		
22. The wearing of religious symbols such as a crucifix should be banned in school.		
23. School pupils should wear a uniform to show they all belong to the school.		

## Appendix 3. Interview questions for young people

### *Introduce yourself*

- Thank you.
- Consent form
- Traffic Game

### *What kind of citizen?*

Donates to charity	Always obeys laws	Works hard and pays taxes	Is an active member of community	Helps to organise care for the elderly in winter	Always votes in elections
Speaks out against prejudice and discrimination	Participates in marches and protests against unjust law	Openly questions government/authority	Does his/her best to look after the planet	Tolerates different views and opinions from other countries	Cares about political and social issues in other countries

- These are some political and social activities that a good citizen might do. Which 3 of these do you think are the most important?
  - a) Why did you choose these?
  - b) What kind of citizen do you want to be?
  - c) Any difference between a and b? Why?
- Choose card(s) to describe citizenship characteristics you learn in the classroom;
  - Same or different with Q1. Why?
  - What social and political issues/topics do you learn?
  - How actively are you involved in learning these issues in a scale of 0-5? (0=not involved at all, 5=very actively involved)
    - Tell me what motivates you to participate in citizenship or
    - What makes you difficult to participate in citizenship learning?
- Can you give me an example of how you are involved in your local community?
  - Explain about the forum/project.
  - How/why did you join such a forum/project?
  - How much time do you spend on this project?

### *What affects your political socialisation?*

<b>Family</b> Parents; siblings	<b>School</b> Teachers; classroom; afterschool activities	<b>Peer Group</b> Friends in and out of school	<b>Local Community</b> Youth forum; work places	<b>Political Culture</b> Political leaders; MPs; transparency and openness of the political system; optimism
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- What affects you most in getting involved or interested in political and social issues?
  - How does it influence?
  - Is school an important place to learn about citizenship? Why/why not?
  - Is community an important place to learn about citizenship? Why/why not?
  - Anything to add?

### *Young people's rights to participation*

- Have you heard about the UNCRC? (If no, according to UNCRC, all young people regardless of their age, gender, ethnic background, social class and national rights, have all of these rights)
  - Where and how did you learn about it?



- Should young people participate in politics?
  - Why or why not?
  - What kind of citizenship activities would you participate?

Voting in elections	Joining a political party	Following political and social issues in the media or on internet
Participating in democratic protests	Joining a trade union	Joining actions against unjust government's decision
Organising a public protest to promote human rights	Volunteering in a local community project	Participating in activities promoting sustainable living

- Why and why not?
- Name one important issue in young people's lives in Scotland today.
  - Why is it important?
  - Have you done anything about this issue? What?
  - How should deal with this issue?
  - Tell me what motivates you to participate in actions/ activities to resolve this issue.
  - What kind of things does it make difficult for you to participate?
- Attitudes towards fundamental democratic principles

In your opinion...

How **free** are you?

← 0 1 2 3 4 5 →

Not free at all ☹ Very free ☺

How **equal** are you?

← 0 1 2 3 4 5 →

Not equal at all ☹ Very equal ☺

How **just** is Scottish society?

← 0 1 2 3 4 5 →

Not just at all ☹ Very just ☺

- i. How free are you on the scale of 5? Why?
- ii. How equal are you on the scale of 5? Why?
- iii. How just is Scottish society on the scale of 5? Why?

### ***Closing***

1. Anything to add before we end our conversation?
2. Thank you!

## Appendix 4. List of thematic network structures

Global Themes	Organising Themes	Basic Themes
Learning for membership	Beyond the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>European citizenship</li> <li>Multiculturalism</li> <li>Global citizenship</li> </ul>
	State-level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National (Scottish/British) identity</li> <li>Nationalism</li> <li>Social capital</li> <li>Social inclusion</li> </ul>
	Below the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Good personal characteristics (e.g. connectedness; caring; honesty; law obedience; mutual respect; openness)</li> <li>Social activities (volunteering; charity work; donation; community service learning)</li> </ul>
Learning for entrepreneurial citizenship	Beyond the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic globalisation (e.g. global market; world trade; multi-national corporations)</li> <li>2008 Global economic and financial crisis</li> </ul>
	State-level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Employment</li> <li>Human capital</li> <li>Welfare &amp; wealth creation</li> <li>Enterprise education policies</li> <li>Trainee &amp; apprenticeship schemes</li> </ul>
	Below the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Employability skills (e.g. creativity; entrepreneurship; competitiveness; flexibility; resilience; responsibility; self-management)</li> <li>Volunteering;</li> <li>Accredited learning opportunities</li> </ul>
Learning for formal political participation	Beyond the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>European youth parliament</li> </ul>
	State-level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Voting</li> <li>Policy consultation</li> <li>Political party</li> <li>Trade union</li> <li>Youth parliament</li> </ul>
	Below the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Formal education (e.g. Modern Studies; Religious and Moral Education; other social studies subjects; Personal, Social and Health Education; extracurricular activities)</li> <li>Pupil councils</li> <li>Community-based educational programmes (e.g. political literacy classes at local community centres, electoral promotion campaigns)</li> </ul>
Learning for activism	Beyond the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Issues of international and global communities (e.g. sustainable development; poverty; human rights; capitalism)</li> <li>International youth (activist) organisations and networks (e.g. Amnesty International)</li> </ul>
	State-level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Domestic issues and policies</li> <li>National youth (activist) groups and networks</li> <li>Strategic non-participation</li> </ul>
	Below the state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Personal and community issues</li> <li>Social responsibility;</li> <li>Critical awareness;</li> <li>Social change/transformation;</li> <li>Participation in everyday life</li> <li>Youth direct activism</li> </ul>



## Appendix 5. Informed consent: Adult practitioners



THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

### ‘Have a Say’ Informed Consent Form

My name is Byulrim (Pyollim) Hong, currently undertaking a PhD programme at the University of Edinburgh. Focusing on both formal and informal citizenship education, my main research interests lie in historical and cultural influences on policy-making and the practice of citizenship education and young people’s participation in society in Scotland and South Korea. The study will include individual interviews with young people, teachers and youth workers in and outside of schools in both countries.

I would very much welcome your involvement. The interview will last no more than one hour and a discrete audio recorder will ensure that I can use our conversation as data for research purposes. ***Please note that these recordings will be only be listened to by me and for this research.***

***Confidentiality of the information you provide is strictly protected by anonymity.*** At no point will your name be mentioned in any communications arising from this research. You have the right to withdraw your involvement at any time. If you have any queries or would like more information, please do not hesitate to contact me by phone [REDACTED] or by e-mail ([b.hong@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:b.hong@sms.ed.ac.uk)). You may also contact my supervisor Jim Crowther at The University of Edinburgh at [jim.crowther@ed.ac.uk](mailto:jim.crowther@ed.ac.uk) or Ian Fyfe ([ian.fyfe@ed.ac.uk](mailto:ian.fyfe@ed.ac.uk)).

Many Thanks,  
Byulrim Hong

.....

**Please read below, tick or do not tick each box as appropriate and sign at the bottom of the page to indicate your willingness to participate.**

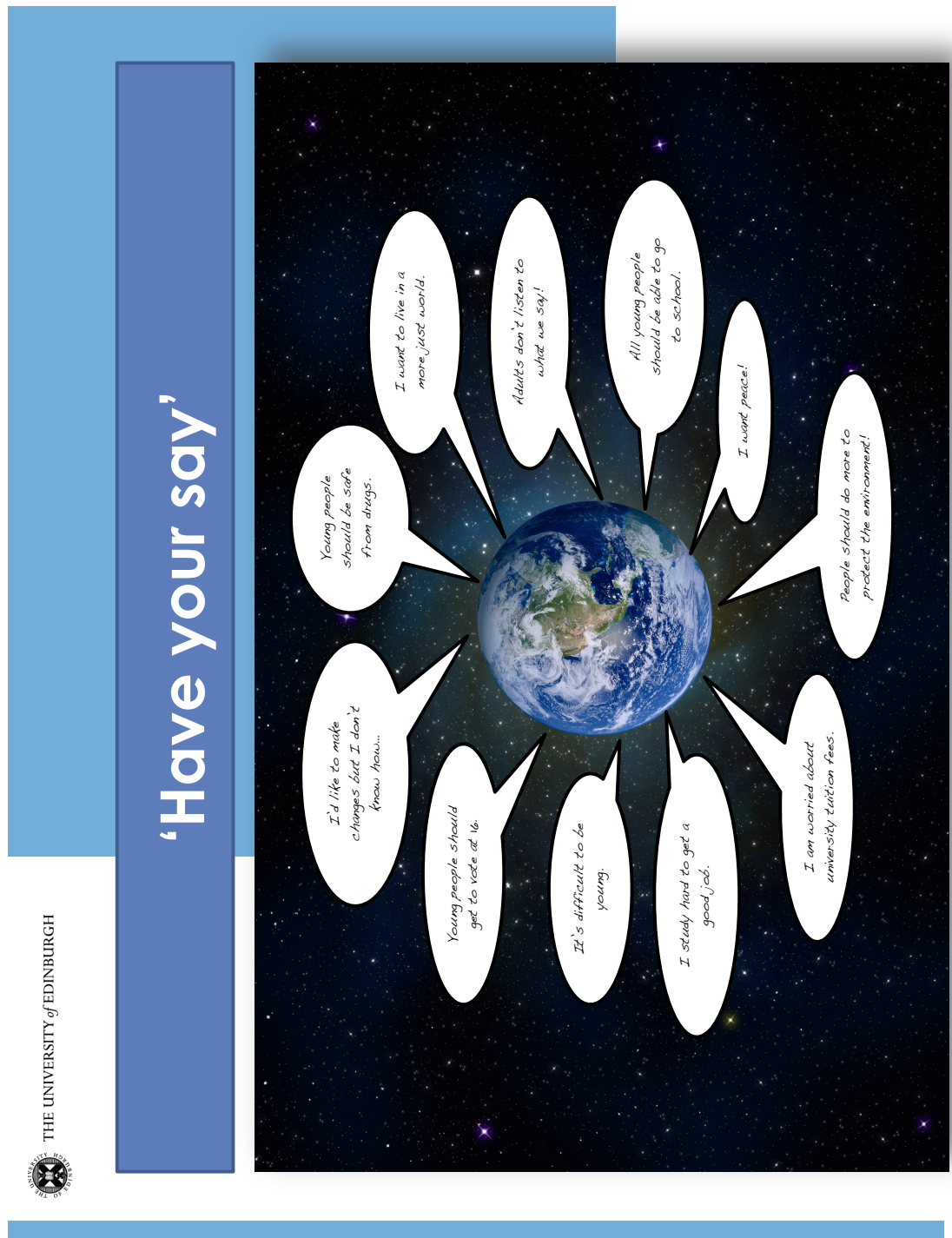
- ☐ I am willing to consider participating in interviews for this project.
- ☐ I understand the purpose of this research, and that I am able to ask questions about it at any time.
- ☐ I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent for involvement at any time.
- ☐ I understand that my name will not appear in any published document relating to this study.
- ☐ I understand that the data collected by the researcher may – whilst still maintaining individual anonymity - appear in publications relevant to this area of research.

Signature .....

Print name .....

Date .....

## Appendix 6. Informed consent: Young people



### Who am I?

My name is Pyollim (pronounced pee-o-lim) and I am undertaking research at the University of Edinburgh.

As part of this project I am talking to young people about their involvement in decision-making in various places such as home, school, local community and society. Lots of young people are affected by decisions made by adults in their everyday life, but the voice and views of young people may be excluded or ignored. I hope you are willing to be involved in my project and share your experience.

### Have a Say Interview

#### What?

I am inviting you to take part in a private 1:1 interview. What you tell me will be treated in total confidence.

#### Why?

It is important that young people have a chance to express their experiences and opinions on issues that affect them. Sometimes their views are dismissed as uninformed or young people themselves are seen as apathetic and uninterested. I don't believe this is true and I think the real problem is much more to do with not being treated seriously or given genuine opportunities to influence things that matter. However, I need to discuss this with young people and I hope you will give me some of your time for this.

#### What does it involve?

I will visit you at a time and place that is suitable for us both. I have some prepared questions to ask but you will have the opportunity to raise matters that are important to you. Our meeting will last no more than an hour.

#### Confidentiality

If it's okay, I will record our conversation. The recording is only for me to listen to but if you are unhappy with this, I will take notes only.

#### Do I have to do this?

No, you don't have to. It's all up to you if you want to join this project.

#### What happens next?

If you give me your contact details (preferably e-mail address), I will contact you to arrange a time and place to meet. I may also contact you again at some future point to see if you want to participate further in the project.

#### Ok, I think I want to do it!

If you want to take part in 'Have a Say', then just contact me via e-mail at [b.hong@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:b.hong@sms.ed.ac.uk). You will be asked to sign the consent form (below) before the interview. I will bring a copy with me for signing. If you have any questions or would like to talk to me about the project, you are more than welcome to call me 0131 651 6112.

Young people have the right to speak up and have your opinions listened to and taken seriously by adults on things that affect you. (United Nations, 1989)

### My 'Have a Say' Consent Form

I \_\_\_\_\_ would like to hear more about 'Have a Say' research project. I am happy to be interviewed.

I am \_\_\_\_\_-year-old.

My postcode is \_\_\_\_\_.

My e-mail address is \_\_\_\_\_.

My telephone/mobile number is \_\_\_\_\_.

(Don't worry if you don't have one or if you don't want to share!)

Anything else that I need to know about you?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

My signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: DD/MM/YEAR

